Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-92-250 *29 December 1992*

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Tudjman, Izetbegovic, Boban View Geneva Talks

LD2812204892 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Video report from Geneva—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] The main European forces and the UN Security Council should reach agreement on what they wish to achieve in Bosnia. The Croatian president said an ultimatum containing a threat of military intervention would be sufficient. Dr. Tudjman had talks lasting almost an hour with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. Vance, Owen, and Butrus-Ghali have agreed with a Croatian demand, a letter in which Zagreb calls for the implementation of Vance's plan.

[Tudjman] We are very pleased with the talks. The secretary general and both co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia share the opinion that Croatia has been making its full contribution to resolving the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia and the creation of conditions for restoring peace in that area.

[Reporter] Butrus-Ghali supports the Croatian demand. The issue of UN-protected areas in Croatia depends on the question of ceasing hostilities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is the main topic here. [passage omitted]

A meeting between Tudjman and [Bosnia-Hercegovina President] Izetbegovic also took place:

[Journalist, addressing Izetbegovic] How do you assess the Croat-Muslim talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Izetbegovic] The talks are under way. I believe they are going in the right direction, but they are not perfect.

[Reporter] There are many meetings and agreements. There are two questions: First, the principle of the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. What will it be like?

[Bosnia-Hercegovina Croatian leader Mate Boban] It will look the same as it is today in its external borders. Internal borders cannot be foreseen yet, but they must in no way be at odds with the interests of any of the nations, they should satisfy the interests of all three nations to the greatest extent.

[Reporter] The other question is the issue of provincial organization and demarcation within Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croats and Muslims from Bosnia-Hercegovina are conducting negotiations on this.

[Boban] This is in order to offer a joint proposal which will be objective as regards the interests of all three nations and thus enable the co-chairmen to exercise pressure on the third aggressor side, stop the war and organize the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Tudjman, Kozyrev Hold Talks

LD2812232592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Report by Andjelko Perincic from Geneva]

[Excerpt] Talks between President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev are underway in the European seat of the United Nations.

According to well-informed sources—since these talks, like many others today, are held behind closed doors—the topic of discussion is the attempt to find a peaceful solution to end the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The fact that Russia has recently made many statements about our crisis—from the ones by Kozyrev at the CSCE ministerial conference in Stockholm, to the latest ones here in Geneva—together with reports about Russians, although probably not regular units but individuals and even generals who arrived illegally to participate in hostilities on the Serb side, will certainly offer the opportunity to reconsider relations and views on the crisis of the two countries.

Before these talks, President Tudjman and members of the Croatian delegation held talks with President of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic about possible territorial and constitutional solutions of the future set-up of Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, as we have learned, an accord in the views and a joint proposal by the Muslim-Croatian side in Bosnia-Hercegovina have not yet been reached. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Hails Cosic Meeting

LD2812140192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman viewed today's meeting in Geneva with Dobrica Cosic, FRY president, as positive.

At a news conference held immediately after the talks, President Tudjman said: "I can say with satisfaction that President Cosic said that in his personal opinion it is high time for a political solution to be found to normalize relations between the Republic of Croatia and the FRY, whose president he is."

Tudjman said that the talks with Cosic are unfinished. They will resume during lunch with the cochairmen of the Geneva conference. Asked whether the two states will recognize each other this week or next, Tudjman said: "I believe that they will, but I do not think it will happen this week or next."

Asked to comment on the existence of concentration camps in Croatia, President Tudjman stressed that "in the Republic of Croatia there are no camps, no prison camps, and no prisoners". He added: "Furthermore, Croatia has passed a law on their abolition. To my knowledge, there are no such camps on the territory of

Bosnia-Hercegovina either." Tudjman explained that after the law on abolition was passed, "a dozen of Serbian villages pledged their loyalty to the Croatian authorities and readiness to normalize life in the constitutional and legal system in Croatia."

Tudjman said that he held talks with Alija Izetbegovic on finding a way to cease hostilities in Bosnia-Hercegovina permanently. "I personally pleaded for a solution to cease hostilities at any cost, which means that a solution in principle is to be found for the constitutional and legal set-up of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and also for the territorial boundaries of the provinces in it, in order to make possible for the three nations that are engaged in a horrible war to live with each other."

Tudjman stressed that peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina has to be restored immediately, also because "there is an imminent danger that the conflict will become internationalized on a very large scale; and because, in addition to mojahedin, many Islamic countries are ready to provide men and weapons for the Muslims."

The Croatian president added that "a large number of volunteers from Russia have appeared on the Serb side". There is a realistic danger, Tudjman added, that the war in that area might spread and assume undesirable proportions which could threaten world peace.

Concerning humanitarian aid and "the no-fly zone", a limited military intervention in the "no-fly zone" will not have much success if it is enforced before European countries, the United States, and the United Nations understand what the core of the problem is and find a political solution, Tudjman concluded.

Cosic Holds News Conference

LD2812221192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—FRY President Dobrica Cosic stressed at a news conference for about 100 foreign and domestic correspondents, held in the Palace of Nations in Geneva this evening, that the upcoming January meeting between representatives of the former Yugoslav republics is exceptionally important but not "the last chance for peace."

Reviewing his talks with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the Yugoslav president said: "Ghali confirmed his formidable reputation as a fighter for peace, a man who understands exceptionally well the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and in the Balkans, a man who understands the gravity of the situation and difficulties in resolving the Bosnian conflict."

Cosic noted that there are no differences between his and the UN secretary general's efforts to reach peace. "We are in complete agreement that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina must end immediately and efforts should be undertaken to reach a lasting peace," he said.

The task of the FRY is very clear on this, Cosic said. The FRY will do everything to exert political influence on Serbs in Bosnia, so that they, together with Croats and Muslims, seek a political solution which would lead to a consolidation of their relations and would end the sufferings, with the aim of reaching a lasting peace, Cosic added.

Asked whether Butrus Ghali warned him of a possible military intervention, Cosic said: "There were no warnings. The UN secretary general voiced the conviction that there are serious possibilities of a military intervention, but he did not utter threatening words." Cosic specified that Butrus-Ghali talked about ways of removing these threats, and stressed that everything that the secretary general proposed "is not just realistic, but is implementable."

Cosic said that the aim of the Geneva conference convened for 2-3 January—and in which he and President Tudjman will take part, together with representatives of the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina and their military commanders—is to end the war in Bosnia through joint efforts.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's presence at these negotiations is not necessary, Cosic said when asked whether it would be useful for Milosevic to come to Geneva, and whether Cosic could "soften" Milosevic's stance. Cosic recalled that he, as the FRY president, has all constitutional powers, while the Serbian president has powers only within the borders of his republic. "Naturally we cooperate, talk about peace, and, in my view, there are no disagreements about this," Cosic specified.

Cosic pointed at, as he said, the absolute identical nature of his views with those of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozryev regarding the way of stopping the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Assessing the talks which he had with the Russian foreign minister, Cosic reiterated that he shares identical views with his Russian collocutor regarding ways of stopping the suffering of all three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and preventing the spread of the conflict to the Balkans.

Assessing his meeting with Tudjman, President Cosic recalled that the policy of the FRY aspires to the normalization of relations with all former Yugoslav republics, which is, Cosic said, expressed in his August messages. "Nobody showed understanding, while Slovenia even responded in a rather crude way."

Regarding the normalization of relations with Croatia, Cosic said that "as long as Vance's plan remains unimplemented we cannot talk about diplomatic recognition. Our interest is that position of the Serbs in Croatia is resolved as soon as possible, so that our relations with Croatia are raised to a level that exists in the modern world."

Cosic added: "Tudjman and I have very close, not to say identical, views regarding Bosnia. Very speedy solutions are

possible on these bases. Tudjman as a politician and historian holds that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be a confederation of three national communities." Cosic believes that it is reasonable and conductive to a permanent peace, but the conference should not be based on the reduction of rights and inequality for the Muslim nation.

Asked whether he is more or less optimistic than before these talks, Cosic replied: "The conference which is starting on 2 January, and which will last until the main issues are resolved, is a great chance and obligation to fulfil all its expectations and move toward peace, deprive the war of its purpose, and prevent a military intervention, which would be a disaster for Bosnia and the Balkans, and also for those who take part in it."

The conference is important but, God forbid that it is our last chance, Cosic said. Asked by correspondents to comment on a statement by General Panic to the effect that the Yugoslav Army would help Bosnian Serbs if there is a military intervention, Cosic said that Panic is not competent to make decisions of this nature, and described it as a personal view. However, he stressed, "if the FRY is attacked—which I do not believe in—it will, like any other free country, have the right to defend itself."

A prerequisite for ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and its agony is, a truthful assessment of the tragedy. There will be no peace as long as the Serbs are thought to be aggressors, and until it is understood that in Bosnia there is a civil, ethnic, and religious war under way. That is why adequate solutions must be sought, Cosic warned, and went on to note that the motives behind the war must be assessed.

There is a threat of internationalizing the religious aspect of the war. This is obviously what Bosnian Muslims want, the Yugoslav president said. Nevertheless, he expressed hope that the world community will find ways and arguments to remove the factors which have been fomenting the religious war. Otherwise, Cosic warned, there is a danger of a permanent crisis emerging in Europe. If, however, we have to point to the way I would say it is through giving nations the right to self-determination. Yugoslavia will respect any political agreement between the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. "It would not dream of threatening the territorial integrity of any country," Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic said in conclusion.

Cosic Meets With Butrus-Ghali

LD2812185392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1827 GMT 28 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali told Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic here on Monday [28 December] that intense pressure for a military intervention in former Yugoslavia was being exerted and that the days to come would be of crucial importance.

Cosic had a one-hour meeting in Geneva with Butrus-Ghali and the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance.

Cosic's special advisor Svetozar Stojanovic told journalists that Cosic, although being the president of a country which is not involved in the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was expected to continue using his authority to exert influence on Bosnian Serbs.

For over eight months, Bosnia-Hercegovina has been locked in a civil war in which local Moslems and Croats, who are backed by some 60,000 regular troops from neighbouring Croatia, are pitted against Bosnian Serbs.

Butrus-Ghali and the two cochairmen praised Cosic for the efforts he has invested so far in restoring peace to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Stojanovic said.

He quoted Cosic as saying that international factors misjudged the causes of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina by accusing Serbs of committing an aggression, and that the solution lay in exerting equal pressure on all three sides (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) to end hostilities and start dialogue.

Bulqize Situation 'Tense'; Strikers' Health 'Poor'

AU2512182192 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 24 (ATA)—Mero Baze writes: For 60 hours now, the miners of Bulqize, the biggest chrome mine in Albania, continue their hunger strike. The ATA reporters, studying the miners' situation, concluded that in the 720 meters depth, the 20 miners whom they contacted are in a poor state of health.

The chief of the strike Hamdi Koceku said that they are ready to stop the hunger strike provided their demand for the release of the detained trade unionists is fulfilled and the strike's days are paid. Then, the dialogue to solve their other questions remains open. The miners demand a 75-percent increase of the hitherto wage and not as it has been commented on the TV for a 75 percent of the European miners' wage. The striking miners witnessed of the efforts by the forces of order to halt this strike by force, the reporters found out. Yesterday, the miners learned that they have undermined the other entries in the gallery so as to have under their control all the entries into the gallery. They refused to present to the ATA reporters the other striking members and their number. According to various sources the number of the hunger strikers goes from 60 to 100.

Yesterday, the deputy of the zone and Minister of Defence Safet Zhulali contacted representatives of the power in the district and of the political parties. Because of the tension created due to the great number of people outside the building, a broad meeting with the strikers' representatives failed to be held. The situation continues to be tense.

Berisha, Union Delegation Hold Negotiations

AU2512182492 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—The President of the Republic Sali Berisha met on December 23 with the chairman of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania, Valer Xheka, who leads at the same time a trade union delegation of Bulqize and oil in Ballsh. The trade union delegation asked the president that the question of Bulqize be solved through dialogue. To this end, we demand the release of three detained strikers, because their detainment is based on a law not approved by the Albanian parliament, they said adding that in order to calm down the situation it is indispensable that the workers be given money in advance.

President Berisha said that as regards to the detained persons he would ask the attorney general to verify the procedure of the persons' detainment and intervene to correct injustice if there is any. As regards to the money in advance, the president said he would ask the government to go on giving money in advance to the workers needing them. But, he said, I am sorry to say that there is a political manipulation in the case of Bulqize. The resumption of the strike after the elections' day in Serbia does not do honour to those who stage and organize the strike. I call on you not to allow the others' manipulations and ensure you that I have and will continue to support your just demands. We are determined to go ahead with the reform. The augmentation of production and the reduction of the workers' number are conditions of the reform, which we do not allow to be infringed upon. Then, the trade union delegation put forward their remarks regarding the Law on Strikes, that of the Collective Contract, saying that there are elements not reconciling with the freedom of the trade unions. President Berisha said that he agrees that the necessary improvements be made. We are and will be for democratic laws only, he said.

Strikers Resume Work

AU2612154892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The Public Order Ministry spokesman reports that the hunger strikers began coming out of the north mine of Bulqize at 1530 yesterday. According to Naim Trukja, the mine's director, and Aleksander Hajda, negotiator and coordinator of the strikers, all strikers had come out of the mine by 1800. A group of public order experts and Deputy Arben Lika entered the mine to confirm the end of the strike. They came out at 2100 and verified that the strike was over. The situation in Bulqize is back to normal. A considerable number of workers have resumed working.

Time on Renting Land to Foreigners Extended

AU2512154892 Tirana ATA in English 1118 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 24 (ATA)—In the session of December 23, the People's Assembly examined a draft law on some changes in the existing Law on the Sanctioning and Protection of the Private Ownership, Free Initiative, the Independent Activities, and Privatization.

Those in the parliament said that in the process of the application of the Law on Privatization, especially in the discussions with the foreigners, the question of the construction site has been aroused. According to the law so far in force, the construction site is sold to Albanian nationals and rented to foreigners until 49 years. Such a thing is a considerable obstacle for the introduction of foreign investments in Albania because most of the foreigners attach a great importance to this deadline in the claims they present. To this end, at the proposal of the Council of Ministers, the Assembly adopted the change of the Article 21 of the so far law by extending the deadline of the renting of the land from 49 to 99 years.

Serreqi Visits Greece, Views Balkan Situation

AU2912120192 Tirana ATA in English 1105 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 29 (ATA)—On December 28, official talks were conducted between the Albanian delegation and the Greek delegation, led by the Foreign

Ministers Alfred Serreqi and Mihal Papakonstandinou. In the talks, conducted in a constructive spirit and understanding, they dwelt on bilateral relations and the situation in the Balkan region.

The Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi described the Albanian-Greek relations as relations which are playing an important role in the Balkans. He spoke on the free movement of the people between the two countries, the question of Albanian economic emigrants and their status in Greece. He laid the stress on the activity of the so called "Northepirus" organization, whose activity runs counter to the Albanian-Greek relations. Further on he referred to the rights the Greek minority enjoys in Albania, they have suffered equally with the Albanian people from the dictatorship. He mentioned also the question of the ownership of the Greek minority in Greece. In regard to the Macedonian question, Minister Serreqi pointed out that a Macedonian democratic, independent, sovereign and stable state would be a factor of stability in the Balkans. The Albanian stand on this question is linked with a very fundamental question. It has to do with the right of the Albanian population to be a state forming element, a right which should be sanctioned by constitution.

In regard to the situation in former Yugoslavia, the Albanian foreign minister pointed to cause of the Yugoslav crisis,the expansionist policy of Serbia, the need for the consolidation of preventive measures to avoid the extension of the conflict as well as the Albanian viewpoint to continue the political dialogue between the legitimate representatives of the people of Kosovo with Serbia in the presence of the third party for the demilitarization of Kosovo, installation of the UN troops there and the opening of the schools in the Albanian language.

On his part, the Greek Foreign Minister Papakonstandinou mentioned the questions raised by the Albanian party. He agreed on a joint interministerial commission to be set up and progress be made in the realization of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. He expressed the approval for the Albanian stand towards the rights the Albanians in Macedonia should enjoy and for the demilitarization of Kosovo. He voiced the Greek viewpoint on the crisis in former Yugoslavia, on the recognition of the Macedonian state etc. Concerning the economic aspect of the Greek-Albanian relations, the Greek foreign minister laid the stress on the acceleration of the work to reach agreements in various fields of cooperation. He pointed out that the Greek Government is ready that on the basis of the existing Greek legislation, to accelerate the realization of the demands which may be made on the question of the Albanian ownerships in Greece.

The foreign vice minister of Greece, V.Cudheru, spoke in the meeting as well. She spoke on the question of the Albanian emigrants in Greece and the contribution Greece is making to the dispatch of the aid of the European Community in Albania.

On the same day, meetings were conducted between the Albanian minister of labour and emigration, Dashamir Shehi and the vice minister of the public order Astrit Mehja with their Greek homologues, the minister of labour, Aristidhis Kalantzakos and the vice minister of public order, Psillaqis. The participants in the meetings discussed questions of cooperation among respective ministries. Besides, the Foreign Minister Serreqi paid a visit of courtesy to the vice prime minister of Greece, Tzannis Tzannetakis, and handed him a message of the Albanian Prime Minister Meksi for the Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis.

During the meeting Mr.Serreqi had with the chairman of the Greek parliament Athanasios Caldaris, they talked on the relations between the two countries, the situation in the Balkans and others. Mr.Serreqi handed him a message of the Albanian President Berisha for the Greek President Karamanlis. In the evening, the Albanian Embassy in Athens gave a dinner where senior Greek personalities were invited.

Former Political Prisoners Form Trade Association

AU2612145292 Tirana ATA in English 0934 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 26 (ATA)—The Trade Association of the Former Political Prisoners Ringjallja [Revival] was formed in Tirana. The association will have as its objective the economic activity in the field of export import, the field of investments, and that of tourism, a statement of the Initiating Commission of this association said. The aim of the association is the integration as soon as possible of the former political prisoners in the economic life, their activation in business, creation of working places through investments, and cooperation with foreign firms. In this activity, the association wants to cooperate with other organizations and association for the solution of the numerous problems of the people who have experienced the communist prisons.

Ganev Surveys Diplomatic Successes of 1992

AU2812151492 Sofia BTA in English 1408 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—The Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, who presides over the 47th session of the UN General Assembly, told a news conference in Sofia today that 1992 was a year of international recognition for the Bulgarian people's democratic potential. Mr. Ganev stressed that Bulgaria had made its first steps towards its economic and political integration into Europe. He pointed out Bulgaria's record fast admittance to membership in the Council of Europe and associate membership in the European Community.

Mr. Ganev singled out Bulgaria's relations with Western Europe and the United States as top priorities in this country's foreign policy. The chief Bulgarian diplomat said that Bulgaria would keep invigorating its contacts with the West European countries. Bulgaria signed friendship and cooperation treaties with France, Italy and Portugal in 1992. A Bulgarian-Spanish accord was ratified, too, and will be signed soon. Mr. Ganev emphasized the vigorous progress of Bulgarian-U.K. relations, too. He talked about the intensive development of bilateral relations with Germany, France and Italy.

Foreign Minister Ganev pointed out that Bulgaria will intensify its participation in the Council of Europe. He attached key importance to Bulgaria's participation in the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Mr. Stoyan Ganev recalled that Bulgaria had become an active member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1992.

The chief Bulgarian diplomat assessed as favourable the development of Bulgaria's relations with the countries of the former Soviet Union. He described the Bulgarian-Russian friendship and cooperation treaty as one of the major events of the year. Bulgaria signed similar treaties with Ukraine and Moldova. A treaty with Belarus is expected to be signed shortly.

The Bulgarian foreign minister pointed out that Bulgaria had managed to promote good relations with the Arab and Latin American states in 1992, describing this as a success of Bulgarian diplomacy.

As for Bulgaria's Balkan policy in 1992, Foreign Minister Ganev stressed that this country had been recognized as a constructive force.

Envoy Hands Recognition Notes to Czechs, Slovaks

AU2412152692 Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, December 24 (BTA)—The Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic Prof. Boyan Nichev handed the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes to the Ministry of International Relations of the Czech Republic and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, whereby the Embassy communicates the decision of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria to recognize simultaneously the two republics as independent states, effective January 1, 1993, and to establish diplomatic relations with them at the embassy level as from the same date. On the same day, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Dimitur Ikonomov handed copies of the notes to the charge d'affaires of Czechoslovakia in Sofia, Mr. Josef Dravecki.

Diplomatic Experts Review Treaties With Russia

AU2812194492 Sofia BTA in English 1914 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—Experts of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Russia met in Sofia on December 22 to 24. The sides reviewed the legal framework of the bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Russia, which succeeded the former Soviet Union in all the international treaties in conformity with the international practice, BTA learnt from a Foreign Ministry press release.

On the basis of analysis, experts from both countries systematized the effective Bulgarian-Russian treaties and agreements into four groups: effective Bulgarian-Russian treaties and agreements, effective treaties and agreements which need to be revised, treaties and agreements which require additional surveys, and treaties and agreements proposed to be rescinded.

The inventory of the legal framework of Bulgarian-Russian legal relations will continue into 1993 under a schedule agreed by both sides, the press release says.

Berov Continues Consultations on Forming Cabinet

Meets BSP Parliamentarians

AU2812142792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] A meeting between Lyuben Berov, candidate for the post of prime minister, and the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has just started. Before it Professor Berov met Zhan Videnov, BSP leader, and Nora Ananieva, leader of the Socialists' parliamentary faction.

The final variant of the program-declaration of the future cabinet will be worked out after all the remarks of the parliamentary factions are heard, Prof. Berov said at the beginning of the meeting. He proposed to acquaint the Socialists with the composition of the draft cabinet. Prof. Berov said that some people who initially agreed to

participate in the cabinet later changed their mind. Apparently, they have been subjected to pressure, he said.

Mrs. Ananieva said that this evening the BSP parliamentary faction will announce its official position on Lyuben Berov's draft cabinet.

When Prof. Berov began to read the composition of his draft cabinet the journalists, who initially were allowed in the hall, were requested to leave. Later, Prof. Berov met with the parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

BSP MP's Approve Berov's Program

AU2812194692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and its coalition is satisfied in principle with the program declaration submitted by Professor Lyuben Berov. BSP Deputy Klara Marinova announced this after a meeting between the candidate prime minister and the BSP parliamentary group.

According to Marinova, the positive features in the declaration include the major reappraisals of the previous government's economic policy and of some of the laws already adopted. The Socialists, Klara Marinova said, asked Prof. Berov for guarantees that a major change in policy would be carried out, and that the confrontation in political life would be overcome.

Berov Names Proposed Cabinet

AU2812165092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Today Professor Lyuben Berov continued his meetings and consultations with various parliamentary groups on the composition of the future cabinet.

Our reporter Olga Ivanova has informed us that after Prof. Berov's meeting with National Assembly deputies who are experts, the names of some of the ministers of the future government became known.

Prof. Berov has proposed two deputy prime ministers: Valentin Karabashev, who will be responsible for economic issues, and Evgeni Matinchev, who will be in charge of social affairs and at the same time act as minister of labor and social welfare. He will also be responsible for cooperation with the trade unions.

The names of other nominees are:

For interior minister—Colonel Viktor Mikhaylov, the present director of the National Police;
For defense minister—Major General Orlin Marinchev;
For foreign minister—Dimitur Ikonomov, who presently holds the post of deputy foreign minister;
For trade minister—Rumen Bikov;
For transport minister—Aleksandur Aleksandrov;
For finance minister—Stoyan Aleksandrov, who is currently chief of the Main Taxation Administration;
For environment minister—Veselin Bosevski;
For minister of construction—Architect Khristo Totev;
For agriculture minister—Georgi Tanev;
For health minister—Dr. Dimitur Ignatov;
For justice minister—Prof. Mikhail Vulchev of the Faculty of Law.

In the new cabinet it is proposed to combine the Ministries of Culture, Science, and Education into a single ministry, which will be headed by Stefka Dacheva.

The above are the names known so far.

Prof. Berov completed a meeting with deputies of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement]. According to [DPS Deputy] Yunal Lyutfi, the DPS is satisfied with the proposed cabinet and the draft program.

A short time ago the Supreme Council and parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] started a plenum, at which they will adopt a decision on the Socialists' attitude toward the draft cabinet proposed by Prof. Lyuben Berov.

Issues Policy Declaration

AU2812202792 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—Prof. Lyuben Berov, prime minister designate on the mandate of the Bulgarian Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), today continued his consultations on the formation of a new cabinet. He has until tomorrow to present his line-up to the president.

Meeting with the parliamentary Socialist (ex-Communist) Party and DPS, Mr. Berov presented his policy declaration and prospective cabinet composition. The top leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) refused to meet Prof. Berov today. The SDS daily DEMOKRATSIYA today reported that the coalition will hold a rally in Sofia tomorrow mottoed "No to the Government." Prof. Berov, who is economic adviser to President Zhelev, has support from some 30 of a total of 110 SDS MP's [members of parliament]. Last week 70 SDS MP's signed a pledge that they will neither join nor support Mr. Berov's cabinet.

In his policy declaration Prof. Berov says that his government will continue the reform towards a market economy and his top priority will be the start of structural adjustment. He will be guided by the idea of continuity in government and will not revise the laws which have already been passed and which are fundamental to the reform. If elected, within one month the cabinet will draft a to-the-point programme for 1993. The new government will hasten to resume the broken-off dialogue with the trade unions and to create new jobs. [passage omitted]

After their meeting with Prof. Berov, high-ranking Socialists said they were pleased with the policy declaration and the prospective cabinet composition, but reiterated that they would support this cabinet if they get sufficiently clear guarantees that the policy will be changed. They held a plenum this evening to discuss their position on support for the cabinet. According to off-the-record views, the BSP makes its support for the government on the DPS mandate contingent on a parliamentary resolution to release from pretrial detention Socialist ex-Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. The motion was introduced before Christmas but a debate was adjourned. A source in the military hospital where Mr. Lukanov is undergoing treatment told BTA today that one day before Christmas DPS leader Ahmed Dogan tried to meet Andrey Lukanov but was not admitted to him because the visit was not cleared with the Prosecutor's Office.

DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi told the press that the movement's MP's accept Prof. Berov's policy declaration and the prospective cabinet composition, reckoning with the priorities and the continuity principle in the formation of the new government. Probably tomorrow Mr. Berov will notify the president of the results of his mandate, and his nomination may be put to the vote in parliament on Wednesday.

Later this evening Mr. Dimitur Korudzhiev, a prominent intellectual and member of the top SDS leadership, read on national television a SDS address in connection with the coalition's view of Prime Minister designate Lyuben Berov and his prospective cabinet.

The address sees this mandate as an attempt to force "an impotent government which will perform somebody else's will, which will turn into a hostage of the superrich segment of what until yesterday was the communist top crust." This is inevitable because a large part of the votes which Lyuben Berov will get in parliament will be cast by the communist MP's, the address says.

Mr. Korudzhiev said Filip Dimitrov's government was "brought down after a brutal conspiracy" intended to wrest power for ever from the SDS or to put the coalition under the control of compromise figures who will disappoint the union's supporters.

DPS Position in Cabinet Crisis Assessed

AU2812155792 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 Dec 92 p 3

[Commentary by Diana Damyanova: "Two Quarrel, Dogan Benefits"]

[Text] The parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] behaves in the National Assembly as representatives of a party with long-lasting parliamentary traditions. Many of the faction's moves could be included without any qualifications in a political textbook "How To Behave in Parliament." If until a year ago it was possible to think that Dogan's parliamentary successes are mainly the result of prudent improvisations, now it is clear that this is a matter of well-considered and appropriate behavior.

One must admire their manner of voting when the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] demanded a "vote of no-confidence." When Dogan's negative vote appeared on the board many people thought it was a mistake. Afterward everyone, except those to whom this step was addressed—the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—understood the precise political message of the DPS. Since then, without much ado, the DPS has demonstrated that the time of endless compromises is over once and for all.

When in the early autumn the DPS consecutively restored its demands, it did so in an elegant and skillful manner. The demand for Stefan Savov's resignation achieved two goals simultaneously: First, the balance of power was established; and second, the SDS was given a last chance to understand the reality. Then the DPS deputies demonstrated patience which bordered on stoicism, remaining silent when the two political dinosaurs screamed at each other. By remaining silent the DPS faction saved itself the need to repeat the things the Bulgarian Socialist Party had said.

The statements of the DPS deputies that preceded the fall of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet were a rather different, but equally precise parliamentary move. The half-hearted support of the cabinet expressed by the three DPS spokesmen could guarantee a more comfortable position for the faction in the case of failure. The outcome of the voting was a surprise for many politicians, but the brains trust had precisely calculated it in advance. Generally, this faction seldom makes moves whose success has not been almost ensured in advance.

Well-balanced from an ethnical and intellectual point of view, the DPS faction has competent spokesmen on every subject. This relieves the leader of the need to speak on secondary issues and automatically attributes importance to each of his statements. High intelligence, lack of extremism, firm positions, a readiness to compromise, and a good command of the language—these are Dogan's unquestionable qualities. Against this background the public quickly forgets his mistakes and even blunders. Thus, the overt monarchist statements and the subsequent visit to Madrid were somehow obliterated and today no one is puzzled by the strong support the DPS gives the president and the republic.

However, if the DPS successfully implements its goals in parliament and in the political arena, things are different where its voters are concerned. It is an undeniable fact that for almost one year the DPS voted with the SDS for laws that strongly contradicted the interests of its voters. This includes the amendments to the Land Law, the entire package of restitution laws, and so forth. What the DPS received in exchange—the right to study the

Turkish language and the "Dogan" housing bill represent a negligible compensation for the sacrifices the DPS made. It appears that the chaos that developed in Bulgarian agriculture was the last straw that forced the DPS parliamentary faction to seek real social and economic compensation for its voters. The catchphrase "a turn to the left" really expressed the maximum compromise the DPS could make at the expense of its voters' interests. It was this, rather than some scenarios of splitting the movement, that motivated the change in Dogan's political behavior, because no matter how strange it seems to the DPS National Coordinating Council, politics really represents a concentrated expression of economic interests.

Today it is precisely the DPS that has a chance to untangle the complex Bulgarian political knot. Dogan already is not embarrassed to say that he hopes that a new parliamentary configuration emerges, in which the SDS "ants" and the "prudent ones" in the Alliance for Social Democracy will work jointly for Bulgaria's interest. Being aware of the existing nationalist tendencies and the general nationalistic campaign to which he will be subjected by the isolated red [BSP] and blue [SDS] extremists, Dogan absolutely does not plan to become the leader of a new parliamentary faction. If he succeeds in creating a really responsible cabinet, then the DPS contribution to overcoming the serious political crisis will be beyond any doubt. If he succeeds, the DPS will make a serious claim to become a national party, a phenomenon that does not appear often in history, but could not be excluded.

National Security Chief Defends Service

AU2912104592 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 19-20 Dec 92 p 10

[Interview with Colonel Arlin Antonov, chief of the National Security Service, by Venelina Gocheva; place and date not given: "Mafia Forces Are Attempting To Destroy the Bulgarian FBI"]

[Excerpts] [Gocheva] Colonel Antonov, have you found out why you were demoted to lieutenant colonel?

[Antonov] I have not yet seen the order imposing this punishment.

[Gocheva] Have you met [Interior] Minister Sokolov to clarify the situation that you are in?

[Antonov] No. I usually go to see the bosses when they summon me.

[Gocheva] People accuse you of trying to restore the State Security by the draft law that you have prepared.

[Antonov] I have also been charged with attempting to remove the service from the control of the Interior Ministry, transferring it into the hands of the president. At the same time, however, I am also accused of having damaged the authority of both Dr. Zhelev and the Interior Ministry.

Bulgaria has no need of the old State Security, but it does need a new security service. Every country in the world has a national security service or security service that wages a struggle against foreign intelligence services and against forces attempting to destabilize economic, political, and business life.

The National Security Service [NSS] is the only service that has observed the Interior Ministry Act adopted by the Grand National Assembly, which states that laws on the special services should be passed within a year. I believe that these laws are being deliberately delayed for the purpose of freeing the hands of the criminal groups that are extracting profits from our country and using Bulgaria for money-laundering; as far as they are concerned, the more disorder there is in the country, the better it is for them.

Chaos is spreading in the country, the state borders have dissolved, and everything enters and leaves the country without the slightest control. We find it difficult to control our western border completely. No effective customs control exists at the railroad border crossings, and no one knows what the trains are carrying hidden under the piles of lumber—weapons, people, who knows what? [passage omitted]

[Gocheva] What is your service dealing with at present?

[Antonov] Mainly with combating the foreign intelligence services that are operating on Bulgarian territory. We are also fighting against groups or movements that are not legally established, that violate public order, and whose actions lead to excesses and anomalies in constitutional order. We are also responsible for protecting state secrets, for internal security, and for combating terrorism. However, we were deprived of the possibility of fighting organized crime, and have not yet been permitted to engage in this work, by the way; we were forbidden to combat narcotics trafficking, and have not yet been allowed to do so; and we were prohibited from combating economic crime, and are still not allowed to do so. Combating money laundering and fighting the illegal arms trade do not form part of our duties at the moment, either.

[Gocheva] For how long have you been prohibited from engaging in these activities?

[Antonov] Since before I assumed my post. The service's structures have gradually been trimmed. Restrictions are also about to be imposed on our present payroll. For these reasons, in the draft law we proposed the preparation of a new code of regulations, a new payroll, and new structures. When I visited the United States, I had talks with the FBI, whose functions correspond to those of our service. The FBI combats narcotics trafficking, carries out technical intelligence operations, such as wiretapping and taking photographs, and has its own tracing

service. Despite this, when, before I left for the United States, I asked for these activities to be restored to the NSS, I was told that I wanted to regenerate a new State Security.

[Gocheva] Which intelligence services are you dealing with at present?

[Antonov] With all intelligence services that operate against Bulgaria. At present some of them are very active. I met with people from the CIA and told them that our U.S. department had been closed down, but that if in the future we detect their presence and find that this presence is contrary to our country's interests, we will start working against them.

[Gocheva] Are any intelligence services of the former socialist states operating against us at present?

[Antonov] Look here, these are very specific questions, and therefore I cannot tell you things for which I will have to face trial on a charge of revealing state secrets.

[Gocheva] Are the politicians clearly aware of what the NSS does?

[Antonov] No. I am left with the impression that a large proportion of them have no idea of what our work involves. Someone continues to indoctrinate some of the politicians in the ruling coalition with the idea that the dirty old men from State Security are still hatching plots to compromise people. No compromising plot has ever emanated from the NSS with the aim of destabilizing the position of the presidential institution, the government, an individual politician, or minister. This means that we were working with absolute loyalty, abiding by the constitution and the laws. [passage omitted]

[Gocheva] What does the NSS fear at present?

[Antonov] At the present time, the only thing that the NSS has to fear is unreasonable personnel action on the part of the leadership of the Interior Ministry. [passage omitted]

[Gocheva] Mr. Antonov, what kind of game is being played with the certificates to be issued to persons to confirm that their personal files are clean?

[Antonov] In my opinion, the truth will not come out as to who was an agent and who not, because a large proportion of the personal files were destroyed in the time of General Semerdzhiev, and many files were removed by the former employees. The old employees have gone, but they need the agents because during these troublesome times it is the agents who will support them in their work in companies. It is precisely the people who are able to manipulate political life whose documents are not in the Interior Ministry, in my view. It is precisely the people whose documents were removed who will come to me and collect their certificates, because the Interior Ministry archives contain no information about them. They will receive certificates to the effect that they have not collaborated with the special services, they will continue to occupy responsible state posts, and will continue to be puppets in the hands of people who use their personal files to control them from outside. It is these very people who are the most dangerous. Perhaps we should adopt the Spanish solution and lock Pandora's box.

Chief of Staff on Military's Role, Finances

AU2812144592 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 21 Dec 92 p 5

[Interview With Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, by Chavdar Krumov; place and date not given: "Army Wants No Role in Politics"]

[Excerpts] [Krumov] General, what should Bulgarian citizens know about the military position in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula? Is this situation favorable for us?

[Petrov] My meetings with my colleagues from neighboring states are not detached from the general context of the activity of the state and military leadership in the last few years, and especially in 1992. I have had many opportunities to point out that the deliberate activation of contacts with our southern neighbors and their armed forces was dictated first of all by the fundamental change in the geopolitics and military politics of the Balkans. The elimination of bloc confrontation removed the reasons for suspicious and hostile relations. We had to react very rapidly to the situation, and I think that our joint efforts succeeded in creating within a brief period a quite new type of relations between our armies. Now we view the Turkish and Greek Armies as the armed forces of neighboring states, which have goals similar to our Army's goals. Naturally, we view the armies of our other neighbors in the same manner. The essential difference is in the fact that until a few years ago we saw them only as neighbors, while we were allies with the Romanian Army.

My most recent meetings—the consecutive meetings in Khaskovo and Edirne with Army General Gures, and in Athens with Colonel General Verivakis—confirmed what our public knows, namely, that the military, as well as the nations they serve, want peace and tranquility along their borders, and are making efforts to achieve this goal. With the documents we signed in Edirne and Athens we created conditions for strengthening confidence between our armies. The measures we adopted are not analogous, but they have something in common. They are politically coordinated and fully correspond to the 1992 Vienna document. They even go beyond this document, albeit in different aspects, along the borders with Greece and Turkey. We committed ourselves mutually and bilaterally to conducting minimal and clearly defined military activity on both sides of the borders, at a sufficient distance from the actual frontier. In all cases, this activity will be subject to the inspection of the other side. The country that conducts the military activity is

obliged to inform the neighboring state about its intention at least 42 days in advance, and describe the character and starting time of the activity, as well as details of the number of personnel, arms, and equipment that will be involved, which cannot exceed the bilaterally determined quantities and parameters. Thus we increase guarantees of mutual confidence and do not allow the uncontrolled movement of troops within a certain distance from the state borders.

I would like to point out explicitly that at our meetings we strictly observe the principle of not discussing political problems. As military specialists, we restrict ourselves to discussing and resolving purely military issues of bilateral cooperation, in full accordance with the specific expression of political decisions included in various treaties signed between our ministries of defense and governments. [passage omitted]

[Krumov] What was the goal of the new Army law and how were the drafts, worked out by the General Staff and the ministry, brought close enough to each other to reach the so-called compromise variant? Indeed, could there be a compromise when our national security is involved and how is this expressed?

[Petrov] The goal of the Law on Defense and the Armed Forces, awaited for so long by all of us, is clear and simple: To bring social relations in our country, regarding defense and the Armed Forces, into accordance with the new realities that have emerged since the removal of the totalitarian one-party system in the state and society, and the formation of a democratic, multiparty system. A rather strange situation exists at present. For three years the state and the society have already been governed by a new type of social relations. New laws are being adopted which advance our democratic processes. At the same time, in anything related to defense and the Armed Forces, we are compelled to apply extremely obsolete principles and administrative measures, because we must strictly adhere to the existing Law on General Military Service, which was adopted more than 34 years ago.

However, the new realities are evident and the people must take them into consideration. The political supremacy over the Army and civilian control were established by appointing a civilian as minister of defense. In the presence of the prime minister, the president approved a new Ministry of Defense organization, proposed by the minister of defense and by myself. This structure conforms to democratic principles about the all-nation character of the Army and creates real conditions preventing any repoliticization in any direction. According to this structure, the minister of defense implements a state policy vis-a-vis the Army, and the General Staff chief is subordinate to him. For his part, the chief of the General Staff is the direct commander of all the Army's military personnel, and is responsible to the minister of defense for maintaining the Army's combat readiness and training. Through structures subordinate to him, the minister of defense ensures supplies of all kinds for the Army, works out and controls the implementation of the cadre policy, manages the finances and the correct use of the means, and chairs the work of the Supreme Military Council, where the most important issues of the Army's constriction, supplies, administration, and training are discussed.

Those, and many other realities of administrative, economic, and social character, must be clarified by law.

There is no compromise variant—as you put it—of the law. The General Staff advocated several basic and principled aspects, which were incorporated into the law, something for which we can only congratulate the General Staff. They were related above all to balancing the prerogatives of the parliament, the president, the Council of Ministers, the minister of defense, and the General Staff chief, on anything related to defense, the Army, to guaranteeing the impossibility of repoliticizing the Army, to some issues of cadre and social policy in the Army, and the social status (standard of living) of the military. Now it is the turn of parliament to deal with the law, and I hope that the deputies' common sense will help them to adopt the correct decision.

This is so because, as you pointed out, there really must be no compromises on national security and defense. No one except the Bulgarian people and their Armed Forces could guarantee the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty. There must be a total national consensus on this matter and I have every reason to believe that it will be achieved. [passage omitted]

[Krumov] Obviously, the military budget does not correspond to the requirements of a modern army. There are rumors that there are not sufficient funds for wages, food, and so on. Does this create additional difficulties for the General Staff and is there a danger of the emergence of unnecessary tension among military experts because of lack of sufficient means?

[Petrov] You should perhaps address this question to the head of the Financial Department of the Ministry of Defense. It is other people who form the military budget. The Army only implements it. Naturally, this is being done according to the requests of the military leadership and coordinated with the Ministry of Defense, which represents the military interests in the government.

The military understands well the crisis in the country and the Army and cannot ask for miracles in financing. What is being done now already borders on the impossible. We would like the military budget to be formed so that the troops can undergo regular and high-quality training, maintain their combat readiness at the necessary level, and have sufficient means to maintain the personnel. One could not think about anything more.

Nevertheless, we feel the need to increase the means to intensify combat training activity, to purchase spare parts for our equipment, to acquire new armament and

control systems, and not to allow a reduction in the standard of living of officers, military employees, and workers.

Even more funds are needed to implement the essential part of the reforms, despite the fact that some people described the figures as "fantastic." Let us hope that soon we will have those funds and then we can gradually begin the Army's restructuring, redeployment, and later—its rearming. Such an approach could contribute to decreasing tension in the Army, caused by the low status of the personnel, and to successfully implementing the military reform without any visible cataclysms. [passage omitted]

State of Army Combat Readiness Questioned

AU2912104792 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 23 Dec 92 p 6

[Commentary by Boyko Pangelov: "And if the Situation Explodes?"]

[Text] Our politicians and military claim that they are monitoring the situation in former Yugoslavia through all possible channels. According to General Andreev, the state leadership was "ready to react." However, it is not clear what is meant by "all possible channels." The situation with our intelligence, for example, is well-known. The question is what is the Army's true state of readiness to react.

Recently, the politicians' concern for the Army was expressed by cutting its budget. Immediate results were achieved—there are not even enough shells for firing practice. It was explained how important are the multikilometer zones of confidence and security along the borders with Turkey and Greece, the "probable enemies" until a short time ago. This is all well and good. However, now, when the conflict in former Yugoslavia could develop into a Balkan war—a CIA recent report claims this is more than a theoretical possibility—no one is ready to explain intelligently what is the real level of combat readiness of the armed forces deployed mainly along the Turkish and Greek borders, rather than along the western border, where trouble could develop, and where the troops are poorly trained and incompletely armed.

Whoever was in the military years ago is familiar with the really poor situation there. Now the situation has even deteriorated—this is confirmed by the frequent reports about accidents, a sign of the total lack of discipline. Is the Bulgarian Army prepared at all to fight if it becomes necessary? The taxpayers have the right to know this, even if it is a military secret.

First Census Results Indicate Population Decline

AU2812194392 Sofia BTA in English 1923 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—According to incomplete data of the census taken of the population and the housing stock in the period from December 4 through December 14, 1992, Bulgaria has a population of 8,472,724. The data were released on television this evening by the president of the National Statistical Institute, Prof. Zakhari Karamfilov.

Bulgaria's population fell by almost 476,000 compared with 1985, when the previous census was taken. According to Prof. Karamfilov, the main reason for it is Bulgarians' migration abroad. Current statistics show that about 406,000 Bulgarians left the country in 1986-91, another 70,000 went abroad this year.

680,228 Bulgarians are unemployed and most of them are under 30 years of age, the results show.

There are 3,011,000 households in Bulgaria and they occupy 3,061,000 dwellings. Most of the population is concentrated in cities and towns—67.1 percent. The female-male ratio is 1,035 women to every 1,000 men.

Nine cities in Bulgaria have a population of over 100,000 each.

UN Permits Repatriation of Blocked Yugoslav Ships

AU2412173892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1656 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/12/1992—The Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council has given a positive answer to Romania's request that Yugoslav ships carrying no commodities, on the Romanian section of the Danube now, be permitted to return home, reads a communique of the Romanian Foreign Ministry sent to ROMPRES to be released.

The said ministry expresses satisfaction at the understanding and the spirit of cooperation of the Sanctions Committee in this special situation.

The Romanian institutions concerned have been informed and asked to take due measures to ensure the repatriation of the ships.

Italy To Recognize Separate Republics 1 Jan

AU2312135692 Rome ANSA in English 1243 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] (ANSA) Prague, December 23—Italy will recognize both the Czech and Slovak Republics as independent and sovereign states on January 1, 1993, the Italian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Francesco Olivieri, said in an official diplomatic note to the foreign ministry here.

On the same date, the diplomatic note added, Italy will establish normal diplomatic relations with the Slovak Republic, which will be quickly boosted from consular to ambassadorial level. The embassy in Prague, on the other hand, will be the embassy to the Czech Republic. Initially, Ambassador Olivieri will represent Rome to both new republics.

Italy's actions are in line with the decision made by the European Community last week to officially recognize the Czech and Slovak Republics on the first of the year as the rightful heirs to Czechoslovakia.

For its part, the United Nations will accept the two new republics as members on January 15, when Czechoslovakia's seat will be divided.

FRY Recognizes Czech, Slovak Republics

LD2812215692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] The Yugoslav Government has recognized the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, which will be formed on 1 January as successor states to Czechoslovakia, and as independent states.

The Yugoslav Government arrived at the conclusion that by adopting the appropriate law, the conditions stipulated by international law for the termination of our federation have been fulfilled.

At the same time the Panic cabinet has expressed its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the two republics at the level of ambassadors, and will respect all agreements concluded with Czechoslovakia.

Chancellor Kohl Formulates German Stance on Dam

AU2412192092 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 17 Dec 92 p 2

[Text of an undated letter sent by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement: "Support for the Gabcikovo Issue"]

[Text] Dear Mr. Chairman,

Thank you for your letter of 27 October 1992, in which you inform me about your stance on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric power project.

The Federal Government advocates such an approach to the solution of this problem as would take into consideration the interests of all parties involved. Such a solution is also emphatically supported by the EC mediating efforts. The first important step in this direction was taken at the summit meeting in London.

The Federal Government is appealing to all participants to refrain from measures that would cause a further escalation of tension. It relies on compliance with the undertakings made by both sides at the summit meeting in London in late October that a decision on these matters would be left to the International Court of Justice or another decisionmaking institution. Our government has received with satisfaction the report that Prime Minister Meciar would live up to the promise made by the Czechoslovak Federal Government in London.

Yours faithfully,
Helmut Kohl

Link Between Ukrainian Trip, Bugging Affair Denied

AU2812133792 Prague CTK in English 0431 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 22 (CTK)— Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna today said his visit to Ukraine October 23 was not linked to the bugging affair, but to a concrete drug smuggling case.

Speaking before the Slovak parliament, Tuchyna said that when the affair around the bugging device at the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava was published December 5, his Ukrainian trip started to be linked to it.

According to the allegations, Tuchyna, a graduate from the Moscow-based Academy of the General Staff, had contacts with the intelligence service of Ukraine.

Replying to a deputies' interpellation, Tuchyna said a link between his Ukrainian trip and the bugging affair is being sought by those who in the past should have prevented such affairs by removing bugging devices.

He said that connecting his name with the affair has inspired speculation about foreign intelligence services being linked to the bugging device.

He rejected any role of his ministry in the affair, which he called an attempt to discredit the Slovak Government.

Tuchyna said that he and Slovak Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik, who accompanied him, acquainted Ukrainian officials with Slovakia's negative stand on the demand by Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) and federal legislator, that Ukraine return Subcarpathian Rus to Czechoslovakia. Tuchyna stressed Ukrainian leaders consider the Slovak-Ukrainian border unchangeable.

Subcarpathian Rus, historically part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, came under Czechoslovak administration in 1919 as its easternmost region. Under a 1945 treaty, Subcarpathian Rus was ceded to the then Soviet Union.

According to Tuchyna, anti-Jew provocations are being prepared in Slovakia in order to provoke associations between the Slovak State and the emerging independent Slovak Republic. Further bugging affairs are also being prepared, Tuchyna said.

The Nazi-sponsored Slovak State lasted from 1939 to 1945.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 23 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word Stefan Hrcka report on the 22 December meeting of the Slovak parliament. The report includes the following quote from Tuchyna's speech: "It is no coincidence that certain people are linking the trip to Ukraine to the bugging affair. These are people who should have forestalled this affair by means of an exacting and consistent fulfillment of tasks concerning the dismantling of bugging devices. These devices have remained in private apartments, consulates, bishop's offices, and even government buildings, which has made it possible to misuse them to discredit and disparage the Slovak Republic. It is no coincidence that a Prague Castle employee who is in charge of Army security affairs spoke about the bugging affair as early as 26 November even though it was not until 3 December that the U.S. ambassador informed the Slovak prime minister about the matter. Would it not be proper to ask these people why they permitted this situation to arise by their carelessness and inconsistency? To be more specific. The StB (communist-era secret service) materials were taken over, first, by the Office for the Protection of Constitution and Democracy and, subsequently, by the Federal Security and Information Service. This service was controlled by Mr. Bacinsky and Mr. Palko. (...) After all, it would have been enough to be more consistent in going through Federal Security and Information Service dossiers such as 'Ocean,' 'Sea,' 'Lawyer,' and others to make things clear. I am asking—why do we now have to put up with being besmirched because of things that should have been resolved a long time ago?"]

Journal Details Consulate Bugging Operation

AU2812154292 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 51, 21-27 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Vladimir Mlynar and Jaroslav Spurny: "Bratislava's Ear"]

[Text] On 17 November 1992, a group of people from a U.S. State Department special department dealing with the protection of embassies arrived in Bratislava. Their task was to verify information that had been provided to the U.S. Embassy by J.N., an official from the Slovak Interior Ministry. The information was startling: There was an eavesdropping device installed in the U.S. Consulate building in Bratislava.

A Well-Hidden Microphone

Everything was as the informer had said: In one of the rooms in the consulate, the U.S. experts found a microphone in a plastic case. The device, only slightly larger than a matchhead, was concealed in the plaster several centimeters above the floor, and connected to two wires. One was used to supply the device with electric power, the other to transmit the signal to a special recorder. The wires (housed under a massive wooden floor, making their discovery impossible during a regular check) led to a building in the vicinity, a building which belongs to the Slovak Ministry of Culture, and both wires were live. In other words, bugging was in progress.

The U.S. experts took photographs of it all, and disconnected the microphone. Several hours later, the telephone lines in the consulate went dead for a time, and the U.S. Consul was shadowed by a police car everywhere on his trips all over the town. According to experts from the technical division of the Federal Interior Ministry, the explanation is simple: Whoever was involved in the bugging had found out that there was something wrong with the device and wanted to remove it quickly. The "bug", however, was fed from the same power supply as the telephones and this is why it was necessary to disconnect them for a while. It remains a mystery, however, even for the experts, why the consul's car was shadowed by a police car.

The game went on for two days and stopped as quickly as it had begun. The Americans informed the federal and the Slovak interior ministers, who promised to investigate the entire matter quickly. According to an agreement, no side was supposed to speak about the matter until it was closed. On Friday, 4 December, however, two weeks after the bugging had been officially discovered, Czechoslovak Television obtained information on the matter, and broadcast it immediately the following day. A scandal erupted.

A Genuine Expert

At first, Bratislava police refused to comment on the case, and a spokesman for the Slovak Interior Ministry even said that he knew nothing about it. Prime Minister

Vladimir Meciar, however, reacted immediately: Prague was behind the entire affair, it wanted to discredit the nascent Slovak state. Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak reacted by stating that none of the federal police constituent departments was involved in the matter, and that the matter must be "investigated, first."

The commission that was supposed to shed light on the entire matter was formally appointed by Minister Cermak. The commission has six members (four Czechs and two Slovaks), and First Deputy Interior Minister Stefan Lastovka is its chairman. Ignac Behul, director of the Slovak Republic's Office for the Protection of Economic Interests, is also a member of the commission. Lieutenant Colonel Behul is the very man who was described by Vladimir Chlipala, former director of the Federal Information and Security Service branch in Kosice, as the one who is establishing the new Slovak intelligence service and is involved in the current affair. Ignac Behul began his police career in 1973, as a rank-and-file member of the National Security Corps. Three years later, he became a desk officer in the 1st Section of the 12th Administration of the State Security in Bratislava. After a short assignment at the KGB academy in Moscow, he finally made a career as the deputy commander of the 1st Section of the 12th Administration of State Security.

After the fall of the communist regime, Ingac Behul was, with his colleagues, dismissed by order of Federal Interior Minister Richard Sacher. However, since he had not worked against the so-called internal enemy, he passed screenings in civic commissions, and was appointed deputy director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy in Bratislava. His chief—who was appointed by the then Slovak Interior Minister Vladimir Meciar—was also a former State Security member: Colonel Jaroslav Svechota. People know him from the "Doctor" affair, when a commando unit from the Slovak Interior Ministry Inspection broke into the State Security archives in Trencin and, according to the testimony of one of the participants, took 16 State Security files and handed them directly into Meciar's hands.

Too Many Suspects

The bugging device was installed in the consulate building during its reconstruction in 1986, when Alojz Lorenc was the chief of the 12th Administration of State Security in Bratislava and Ignac Behul was deputy commander of the 1st section. At the beginning of 1990, feeding cables that led into the Slovak Ministry of Culture were disconnected and cemented into the wall.

According to information provided by high officials from the Federal Interior Ministry, the eavesdropping devices were disconnected chaotically by former State Security members who "remembered" where the cables led to. In some places, the microphones were merely disconnected, elsewhere they were removed. The then Federal Interior Minister Sacher ordered—on 8 January 1990—that the "operation be stopped", but the intelligence technology used against the so-called external and internal enemy was not dismantled. (Jan Kral, who was adviser to Sacher's deputy at the time, I. Prusa, controlled the termination of eavesdropping activity, and by the end of March 1990 he had been transferred to the Slovak Interior Ministry, where he became the chief of Meciar's office.) It was not difficult to reconnect the device in the instances when it had been merely disconnected. The Slovak side says today that the State Security file containing the diagram of the eavesdropping device's installation in the consulate building disappeared in December 1989—and no one knows where. However, there is evidence that it was in Bratislava's archives in March 1990, where any rank-and-file officer could have perused it. People in high positions who do not want their names to be given—which is anyone who is at all willing to speak about the "Consulate" case—are convinced that the file exists (despite the fact that, according to the well-known order issued by A. Lorenc in December 1989, it should have been destroyed), and is in the possession of the man who controlled the entire affair—called "reviving the mikes." We can only speculate as to whether this man is Ignac Behul or someone even higher up.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the file containing the diagram, or a copy of it, is not necessary for reactivating the microphones. The Federal Interior Ministry has a list of 18 former State Security members who either installed the device in the consulate building, or serviced it from 1986 till 1989, and know, therefore, how to reactivate it.

No One Will Find Out Anything

According to circles close to the U.S. Embassy in Prague, the United States is interested in good relations with Slovakia, and that is why they will not create a tense political atmosphere. According to the same sources, the device was intended, above all, for eavesdropping on the representatives of the Slovak opposition who frequently meet U.S. diplomats at the consulate. Apart from spying on Jan Carnogursky, Peter Zajac, Martin Butora, and Zuzana Szatmaryova, the discovered "ear" could also do a service to the intelligence services of Russia, Ukraine, or some Arab country. Sources from the Federal Information Service, however, are inclined to the first of these alternatives.

The federal commission dealing with the investigation has met seven times so far. There are no minutes from their meetings, but everything testifies to the fact that they will discover nothing, anyway. Last week, Slovak Interior Ministry officials pulled down several walls in the building into which the wires had led, but this was nothing more than a coverup.

It is likely that the public will never learn the whole truth about this affair. The final report of the commission will either affirm that the U.S. diplomats "fabricated" the entire affair or, at best, we may learn from the report that "no traces that would lead to the discovery of the culprit have been found."

Legislation Passed by Czech Parliament Reviewed

AU2812150792 Prague CTK in English 0612 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 22 (CTK)— The Czech parliament today approved a law codifying terms of transferring judges of the Czechoslovak Supreme Court to the Czech Supreme Court, and prosecutors from the Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's Office to that of the Czech Republic.

The same terms will apply to judges of Czechoslovak Military Courts and Czechoslovak Military Prosecutor's Offices.

The parliament also approved a law transferring the property and copyrights of Czechoslovak Radio and Czechoslovak Television to Czech Radio and Czech Television.

Under it, Czech Television will have two broadcasting circuits. A similar draft law, which was rejected on Monday [21 December], provided only one broadcasting circuit to Czech Television.

The parliament also amended the Law on Health and Social Insurance, which gives better terms to the insured.

This was the end of the pre-Christmas eight-day marathon of the Czech parliament. During it, the deputies approved 27 laws, including three constitutional: the Czech Constitution (December 16), and two laws on measures connected with ending the Czechoslovak Federation.

The Presidium, deputies' groups, and committees will meet again on Monday, December 28. The 19th session of the Czech parliament will start December 29.

Czechs, Slovaks Agree on Split of Property Abroad

LD2812214192 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec. 28 (CTK)—Agreements on the division of Czechoslovakia's property abroad between the Czech and Slovak Republics were signed today by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, Czech Minister of International Relations Josef Zieleniec and Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko.

Lucie Pilipova, a Czech International Relations Ministry spokewoman, told CTK that the ministers signed an agreement providing for the division of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's movable and immovable property on Czechoslovakia's territory and abroad as well as an agreement on the division of Czechoslovakia's state-owned immovable property abroad.

Under the agreement on the future of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's employees which was also signed today most of the ministry's staff will be transferred to the Czech Foreign Ministry, Pilipova said.

She did not give any details on the contents of the agreements saying that they will be provided on Tuesday [29 December] at a press conference at the Czech Ministry of International Relations.

Paper Carries Constitution of Czech Republic

AU2412060192 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Dec 92 pp 7, 8

["Text of the Constitutional Law of the Czech National Council of 16 December 1992 on the Constitution of the Czech Republic"]

[Text] The Czech National Council passed the following constitutional law:

Preamble

We, citizens of the Czech Republic in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, at the time of the restoration of an independent Czech state, faithful to all the good traditions of the ancient statehood of the Lands of the Czech Crown and of the Czechoslovak statehood, determined to build, protect, and develop the Czech Republic in the spirit of the inviolable values of human dignity and freedom, as a homeland to equal, free citizens conscious of their obligations toward others and of their responsibility toward the whole, as a free and democratic state based on respect for human rights and on the principles of a civic society, as an integral part of the family of European and world democracies, resolved to jointly guard and develop the inherited natural, cultural, material, and intellectual wealth, determined to abide by all the tested principles of a law-governed state, adopt through our freely elected representatives the following Constitution of the Czech Republic.

Chapter One: Basic Provisions

Article 1

The Czech Republic is a sovereign, unified, and democratic law-governed state based on respect for the rights and liberties of man and citizen.

Article 2

1. The people are the source of all state power, which they execute through the medium of the bodies of legislative, executive, and judicial power.

2. A constitutional law may determine when the people execute state power directly.

3. State power serves all citizens and can only be exercised in cases, within the limits, and in ways laid down by law.

4. Every citizen can do what is not forbidden by law and no one must be forced to do what is not laid down by law.

Article 3

The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms is part of the constitutional order of the Czech Republic.

Article 4

Fundamental rights and freedoms are under the protection of judicial power.

Article 5

The political system is based on the free and voluntary inception of political parties and their free competition respecting basic democratic principles and rejecting violence as a means of enforcing one's interests.

Article 6

Political decisions arise from the will of the majority expressed in free voting. Decisions by the majority provide for the protection of minorities.

Article 7

The state ensures the economical use of natural resources and the protection of the natural wealth.

Article 8

The self-administration of territorial self-administrative entities is guaranteed.

Article 9

1. The Constitution may be amended or altered only by means of constitutional laws.

2. Any change to the substantial matters of the democratic law-governed state is inadmissible.

3. The interpretation of legal norms must not authorize the elimination or endangerment of the foundations of the democratic state.

Article 10

Ratified and promulgated international treaties on human rights and fundamental freedoms to which the Czech Republic is party are directly binding and take precedence over the law.

Article 11

The territory of the Czech Republic represents an indivisible whole, the borders of which may be changed only by means of a constitutional law.

Article 12

1. The terms of the acquisition and forfeiture of the citizenship of the Czech Republic shall be set out in a law.

2. No one must be deprived of citizenship against his will.

Article 13

The capital of the Czech Republic is Prague.

Article 14

1. The state symbols of the Czech Republic are the large and small state emblem, the state colors, the state flag, the flag of the president of the republic, the state seal, and the state anthem.

2. The state symbols and their use shall be set out in a law.

Chapter Two: Legislative Power

Article 15

1. Legislative power in the Czech Republic belongs to parliament.

2. Parliament consists of two chambers—the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

Article 16

1. The Chamber of Deputies has 200 deputies, who are elected for a four-year term.

2. The Senate has 81 senators, who are elected for a six-year term, with one-third of the senators elected every two years.

Article 17

1. Elections to the two chambers are held within a period starting 30 days before the electoral term expires and ending on the last day of the electoral term.

2. In case of the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, elections are held within 60 days after its dissolution.

Article 18

1. Elections to the Chamber of Deputies take place by secret ballot on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, according to the principle of proportional representation.

2. Elections to the Senate take place by secret ballot on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, according to the principle of the majority system.

3. Every citizen of the Czech Republic who has reached the age of 18 has the right to vote.

Article 19

1. Every citizen of the Czech Republic who has the right to vote and has reached the age of 21 can be elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

2. Every citizen of the Czech Republic who has the right to vote and has reached the age of 40 can be elected to the Senate.

3. The mandate of the deputy or senator comes into being by his election.

Article 20

Other conditions concerning the exercising of the right to vote, the organization of the elections, and the extent of court review shall be set out in a law.

Article 21

No one must be a member of both chambers of parliament at one and the same time.

Article 22

1. The execution of the office of the president of the republic, judge, and other offices to be determined by law are incompatible with the post of deputy or senator.

2. The mandate of a deputy or senator who has taken up the post of president of the republic, the post of judge, or another post incompatible with the post of deputy or senator shall be terminated on the day of his assumption of that post.

Article 23

1. A deputy shall be sworn in at the first meeting of the Chamber of Deputies in which he participates.

2. A senator shall be sworn in at the first meeting of the Senate in which he participates.

3. The oath of a deputy or senator reads: "I pledge loyalty to the Czech Republic. I pledge to observe its Constitution and laws. I swear by my honor that I will carry out my mandate in the interest of all people and according to my best knowledge and conscience."

Article 24

A deputy or senator can surrender his mandate by means of a declaration made in person at a meeting of the chamber of which he is a member. If he is unable to do so owing to grievous circumstances, he shall do so in a manner defined by law.

Article 25

The mandate of a deputy or senator shall expire:

a) When he refuses to take the oath or takes it with reservations,

b) When the electoral term expires,

c) When he surrenders his mandate,

d) When he ceases to be eligible,

e) In the case of deputies, when the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved,

f) When he becomes subject to the incompatibility of posts according to Article 22.

Article 26

Deputies and senators carry out their mandates personally in harmony with their oath and are not bound by any orders in the process.

Article 27

1. A deputy or senator must not be made criminally liable because of his voting in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate or their bodies.

2. No criminal proceedings must be initiated against a deputy or senator because of speeches made in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate or their bodies. A deputy or senator is only subject to the disciplinary authority of the chamber of which he is a member.

3. A deputy or senator who is guilty of a misdemeanor is subject only to the disciplinary authority of the chamber of which he is a member, unless specified otherwise by law.

4. No criminal proceedings must be initiated against a deputy or senator without the consent of the chamber of which he is a member. If the chamber denies its consent, criminal proceedings are ruled out forever.

5. A deputy or senator may be detained only if he has been caught while committing a criminal offense or immediately thereafter. The appropriate authority is obliged to report the detainment without delay to the chairman of the chamber of which the detainee is a member; if the chamber's chairman does not give his consent within 24 hours after detainment to the detainee being handed over to the court, the appropriate authority is obliged to release him. At its first subsequent meeting the chamber shall decide with final validity on the admissibility of prosecution.

Article 28

A deputy or senator has the right to deny testimony about facts that he learned in conjunction with carrying out his mandate; he has this right even after he ceases to be deputy or senator.

Article 29

1. The Chamber of Deputies elects and recalls the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Chamber of Deputies.

2. The Senate elects and recalls the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Senate.

Article 30

1. The Chamber of Deputies may set up an investigating commission to investigate matters of public interest if this is proposed by at least one-fifth of deputies.

2. The manner of proceedings before the commission will be set out in a law.

Article 31

1. The chambers set up committees and commissions as their bodies.

2. The operation of committees and commissions will be regulated by law.

Article 32

A deputy or senator who is member of the government must not be chairman or deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies or Senate, nor must he be a member of parliamentary committees and commissions or of an investigating commission.

Article 33

1. In the case of the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, it appertains to the Senate to adopt legal measures regarding matters that brook no delay and that would otherwise require the passage of a law.

2. It does not, however, appertain to the Senate to adopt legal measures regarding matters of the Constitution, the state budget, the state closing account, the electoral law, and international treaties according to Article 10.

3. Only the government can propose to the Senate the adoption of a legal measure.

4. A legal measure of the Senate shall be signed by the chairman of the Senate, the president of the republic, and the prime minister; it shall be promulgated in the same way as laws.

5. A legal measure of the Senate must be approved by the Chamber of Deputies at its first meeting. If the Chamber of Deputies does not approve it, the legal measure is deprived of further validity.

Article 34

1. The chambers' sessions are permanent. Sessions of the Chamber of Deputies are called by the president of the republic so that they start no later than on the 30th day after the elections; if the president fails to call a session by then, the Chamber of Deputies shall meet on the 30th day after the election day.

2. Sessions of a chamber can be interrupted by means of a resolution. The total period of time during which a session may be interrupted must not exceed 120 days a year.

3. While a session is interrupted, the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate may call a meeting of the chamber prior to the set date. He will do so whenever requested by the president of the republic, the government, or at least one-fifth of members of the chamber.

4. The session of the Chamber of Deputies ends with the expiry of its electoral term or with its dissolution.

Article 35

1. The Chamber of Deputies can be dissolved by the president of the republic, if:

a) The Chamber of Deputies does not pass a vote of confidence in a newly appointed government whose chairman has been appointed by the president of the republic at the proposal of the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies,

b) The Chamber of Deputies does not decide within three months on a government-sponsored bill, with the discussion of which the government has linked the question of confidence,

c) The session of the Chamber of Deputies has been interrupted for a period longer than is admissible,

d) The Chamber of Deputies has not had a quorum for more than three months even though its session has not been interrupted and even though its meetings have repeatedly been called during this period.

2. The Chamber of Deputies must not be dissolved within three months prior to the expiry of its electoral term.

Article 36

Meetings of the chambers are public. The public can be excluded only under conditions defined by law.

Article 37

1. Joint meetings of the chambers are called by the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

2. Joint meetings of the chambers are governed by the rules of procedure of the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 38

1. A member of the government has the right to participate in meetings of both chambers and their committees and commissions. He shall be given an opportunity to speak at any time upon request.

2. A member of the government is obliged to attend personally a meeting of the Chamber of Deputies on the basis of its resolution. This applies also to meetings of a committee, commission, or an investigating commission, at which, however, a member of the government can be represented by his deputy or another government member, unless his personal participation has been expressly requested.

Article 39

1. The chambers have a quorum if at least one-third of their members are present.

2. The agreement of more than one-half of the deputies or senators present is required for a resolution of the chamber to be approved, unless specified otherwise by this Constitution.

3. The agreement of more than one-half of all deputies and of more than one-half of all senators is required to pass a resolution on the declaration of a state of war and to adopt a resolution expressing agreement with the stay of foreign troops on the territory of the Czech Republic.

4. The agreement of a three-fifths majority of all deputies and of a three-fifths majority of present senators is required to pass a constitutional law and to approve an international treaty according to Article 10.

Article 40

For the electoral law, a law on the principles of procedure and relations between the two chambers and their outward relations, and a law on the rules of procedure of the Senate to be passed, the approval by both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate is required.

Article 41

1. Bills are submitted to the Chamber of Deputies.

2. A bill can be tabled by a deputy, a group of deputies, the Senate, the government, or the representative body of a higher territorial self-administrative unit.

Article 42

1. Bills on the state budget and on the state closing account are tabled by the government.

2. These bills are discussed at a public meeting, and decisions on them are made, only by the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 43

1. Parliament can decide on the declaration of a state of war if the Czech Republic is attacked or if it must live up to international contractual commitments concerning joint defense against aggression.

2. The agreement of both chambers is required for armed forces to be sent outside the territory of the Czech Republic.

Article 44

1. The government has the right to express its opinion on all bills.

2. If the government does not express its opinion within 30 days after the bill has been delivered to it, its opinion on the bill is considered to be positive.

3. The government is authorized to request that the Chamber of Deputies wind up the discussion of a government-sponsored bill within three months after its submission, if the government links this with the request for a vote of confidence.

Article 45

A bill with which the Chamber of Deputies has expressed agreement shall be passed by it onto the Senate without needless delay.

Article 46

1. The Senate shall discuss the bill and shall pass a resolution on it within 30 days after the bill's delivery to it.

2. By its resolution the Senate shall either approve the bill, reject it, return it to the Chamber of Deputies with proposals for amendments, or express the will not to deal with it.

3. If the Senate does not express its opinion within the deadline specified in Paragraph (1), it is deemed to have adopted the bill.

Article 47

1. If the Senate rejects a bill, the Chamber of Deputies shall vote on it again. The bill shall be adopted if it is approved by a majority of more than one-half of all deputies.

2. If the Senate returns the bill with proposals for amendments, the Chamber of Deputies shall vote on the bill in the rendition approved by the Senate. The bill shall be adopted by the Chamber of Deputies' resolution.

3. If the Chamber of Deputies does not approve a bill in the rendition approved by the Senate, it shall vote anew on the bill in the form in which it had been passed onto the Senate. The bill shall be adopted if it is approved by a majority of more than one-half of all deputies.

4. No proposals for amendments are admissible in the Chamber of Deputies when discussing a bill that has been rejected or returned.

Article 48

If the Senate expresses the will not to deal with a bill, this resolution by the Senate means that the bill has been adopted.

Article 49

1. International treaties requiring the agreement of parliament shall be approved by parliament in a similar manner as bills.

2. Treaties on human rights and fundamental freedoms, political treaties and economic treaties of a general nature, as well as treaties, whose implementation requires the passage of a law, require approval by parliament.

Article 50

1. The president of the republic has the right to return an adopted law, with the exception of a constitutional law, with an explanation within 15 days after the law was delivered to him.

2. The Chamber of Deputies shall vote anew on a law that has been returned to it. Proposals for amendments are not admissible. If the Chamber of Deputies insists on the returned law by a majority of more than one-half of all deputies, the law shall be promulgated. Otherwise, the law is deemed not to have been adopted.

Article 51

Adopted laws are signed by the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, the president of the republic, and the prime minister.

Article 52

A law must be promulgated for it to become valid. The manner of promulgation shall be set out in a law. The same applies to international treaties approved by parliament.

Article 53

1. Every deputy has the right to address an interpellation to the government or its members on matters within their jurisdiction.

2. The government members to whom the interpellation is addressed shall reply to it within 30 days after its submission.

Chapter Three: Executive Power

President of the Republic

Article 54

1. The president of the republic is the head of state.

2. The president of the republic is elected by parliament at a joint meeting of both chambers.

3. The president of the republic is not accountable for the execution of his post.

Article 55

The president of the republic assumes office by taking his oath. The electoral term of the president of the republic lasts five years and begins on the day of his being sworn in.

Article 56

The election takes place during the last 30 days of the electoral term of the acting president of the republic. If the office of the president of the republic becomes vacant, the election shall take place within 30 days.

Article 57

1. Any citizen who is eligible for the Senate can be elected president of the republic.

2. No one must be elected for more than two consecutive terms.

Article 58

1. A candidate for the post of president of the republic can be proposed by a minimum of 10 deputies or 10 senators.

2. A candidate who has received the votes of a majority of more than one-half of all deputies as well as the votes of a majority of more than one-half of all senators shall be elected president of the republic.

3. If no candidate obtains the votes of a majority of more than one-half of all deputies and senators, a second round of the election shall take place within 14 days.

4. The candidate who has received the largest number of votes in the Chamber of Deputies and the candidate who has received the largest number of votes in the Senate shall advance to the second round.

5. If there are several candidates who have received the same highest number of votes in the Chamber of Deputies or several candidates who have received the same highest number of votes in the Senate, the votes cast for them in both chambers shall be added up. The candidate who has reached the highest number of votes in this way shall advance to the second round.

6. The candidate who has received the votes of a majority of more than one-half of the deputies present and the votes of a majority of more than one-half of the senators present shall be elected.

7. If a president for the republic is not elected even in the second round, the third round of the election shall take place within 14 days, in which he shall be elected from among the second-round candidates who receive the votes of a majority of more than one-half of the deputies and senators present.

8. If no president of the republic has been elected even in the third round, new elections shall be held.

Article 59

1. The president of the republic shall be sworn in by the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies at a joint meeting of both chambers.

2. The oath of the president of the republic reads: "I pledge loyalty to the Czech Republic. I pledge to observe its Constitution and laws. I swear by my honor that I will discharge my office in the interest of all people and according to my best knowledge and conscience."

Article 60

If the president of the republic refuses to take the oath, or takes it with a reservation, he is deemed not to have been elected.

Article 61

The president of the republic can surrender his office to the hands of the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 62 The president of the republic:

a) Appoints and recalls the prime minister and other members of the government and accepts their resignation, recalls the government and accepts its resignation,

b) Calls sessions of the Chamber of Deputies,

c) Dissolves the Chamber of Deputies,

d) Entrusts to the government whose resignation he has accepted or that he has recalled the provisional execution of government functions until a new government is appointed,

e) Appoints judges of the Constitutional Court, its chairman, and deputy chairmen,

f) Appoints the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Supreme Court from among its members,

g) Remits and lowers penalties meted out by the court; issues orders not to initiate criminal proceedings and, if they have been initiated, issues orders to discontinue them; and nullifies punishments,

h) Has the right to return an adopted law to parliament, with the exception of constitutional laws,

i) Signs laws,

j) Appoints the president and vice president of the Supreme Control Office,

k) Appoints members of the Banking Council of the Czech National Bank.

Article 63

1. Furthermore, the president of the republic:

a) Represents the state to the outside world,

b) Concludes and ratifies international treaties; he may devolve the conclusion of international treaties to the government or, with the government's approval, to its individual members,

c) Acts as the supreme commander of the armed forces,

d) Receives the heads of representative missions,

e) Accredits and summons heads of representative missions,

f) Calls elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate,

g) Appoints and promotes generals,

h) Awards and confers state distinctions, unless he empowers another body to do so,

i) Appoints judges,

j) Has the right to grant amnesty.

2. If laid down by law, the execution of powers that are not expressly cited in this constitutional law appertains to the president of the republic.

3. Decisions by the president of the republic made in accordance with Paragraphs (1) and (2) must be cosigned by the prime minister or another member of the government entrusted by him in order to be valid.

4. Responsibility for decisions by the president of the republic that must be cosigned by the prime minister or another member of the government entrusted by him is borne by the government.

Article 64

1. The president of the republic has the right to participate in meetings of both chambers of parliament and their committees and commissions. He shall be given an opportunity to speak at any time upon request.

2. The president of the republic has the right to participate in meetings of the government, to request reports from the government and its members, and to discuss with the government or its members matters within their jurisdiction.

Article 65

1. The president of the republic may not be detained, made criminally liable, or prosecuted for misdemeanor or another administrative offense.

2. The president of the republic may be prosecuted for high treason before the Constitutional Court on the basis of a lawsuit filed by the Senate. He may be punished by withdrawal of the presidential office and of eligibility to recover this office.

3. Criminal proceedings for criminal offenses committed during the presidential term are ruled out forever.

Article 66

If the office of the president becomes vacant and a new president has not yet been elected or sworn in or if the president cannot discharge his office for serious reasons and the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate pass a resolution to this effect, the execution of functions under Article 63, Paragraph (10) a), b), c), d), e), h), i), and j) and of functions under Article 63, Paragraph (2) appertains to the prime minister. During the period when the prime minister executes the limited functions of the president of the republic, the execution of functions under Article 62 a), b), c), d), e), and k) appertains to the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies; if the office of the president becomes vacant at a time when the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved, the execution of these functions appertains to the chairman of the Senate.

Government

Article 67

1. The government is the supreme body of executive power.

2. The government consists of the prime minister, deputy prime ministers, and ministers.

Article 68

1. The government is accountable to the Chamber of Deputies.

2. The prime minister is appointed by the president of the republic; at the proposal of the prime minister the president then appoints other members of the government and entrusts them with the management of ministries or other offices.

3. Within 30 days of its appointment, the government shall appear before the Chamber of Deputies and shall ask for its vote of confidence.

4. If the newly appointed government does not win confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, the procedure under Paragraphs (2) and (3) shall be followed. If even the government appointed in this way does not win the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies, the president of the republic shall appoint a prime minister at the proposal of the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

5. In other cases the president of the republic appoints and recalls at the proposal of the prime minister other members of the government and entrusts them with the management of ministries or other offices.

Article 69

1. A member of the government is sworn in by the president of the republic.

2. The oath of a member of the government reads: "I pledge loyalty to the Czech Republic. I pledge to observe its Constitution and laws and to apply them in practice. I swear by my honor that I shall discharge my office conscientiously and shall not abuse my position."

Article 70

A member of government may not engage in activities the nature of which is in conflict with the execution of his office. Details shall be set out in a separate law.

Article 71

The government may move that the Chamber of Deputies pass a vote of confidence in it.

Article 72

1. The Chamber of Deputies can pass a vote of no-confidence in the government.

2. The motion to pass a vote of no-confidence in the government shall be discussed by the Chamber of Deputies only if it is submitted in writing by a minimum of 50 deputies. The agreement of a majority of more than one-half of all deputies is needed for the motion to be adopted.

Article 73

1. The prime minister submits his resignation to the president of the republic. Other members of the government submit their resignation to the president of the republic through the medium of the prime minister.

2. The government shall submit its resignation if the Chamber of Deputies turns down its request for a vote of confidence or if it passes a vote of no-confidence in it. The government shall submit its resignation after each constituent meeting of a newly elected Chamber of Deputies.

3. If the government submits its resignation in accordance with Paragraph (2), the president of the republic shall accept it.

Article 74

The president of the republic recalls a member of government if this is proposed by the prime minister.

Article 75

The president of the republic shall recall a government that does not submit its resignation even though it is obliged to do so.

Article 76

1. The government makes decisions as a body.

2. The agreement of a majority of more than one-half of all government members is needed to pass a government resolution.

Article 77

1. The prime minister organizes the activity of the government, chairs its meetings, acts on its behalf, and carries out other activities that are entrusted to him by the Constitution or other laws.

2. The prime minister is represented by the deputy prime minister or another member of the government charged with representing him.

Article 78

The government is authorized to issue decrees to execute laws within their limits. Government decrees are signed by the prime minister and the appropriate member of government.

Article 79

1. Ministries and other administrative offices may be established, and the sphere of their authority defined, only by means of a law.

2. The legal standing of state employees in ministries and other administrative offices is regulated by law.

3. Ministries, other administrative offices, and territorial self-administration bodies may issue legal regulations on the basis and within the limits of law, if empowered to do so by law.

Article 80

1. The state board of representatives [statni zastupitelstvi] represents the public prosecutor in criminal proceedings; it also discharges other tasks if set out in a law.

2. The position and sphere of authority of the state board of representatives shall be set out in a law.

Chapter Four: Judicial Power

Article 81

Judicial power is executed by independent courts in the name of the republic.

Article 82

1. Judges are independent in executing their office. Their impartiality may not be endangered by anyone.

2. A judge may not be recalled or transferred to another court against his will; exceptions arising, in particular, from disciplinary accountability shall be set out in a law.

3. The office of judge is not compatible with the office of the president of the republic, member of parliament, or any other office in state administration; a law shall specify which other activities are incompatible with executing the office of a judge.

Constitutional Court

Article 83

The Constitutional Court is a judicial body charged with protecting constitutionality.

Article 84

1. The Constitutional Court consists of 15 judges appointed for a period of ten years.

2. The Constitutional Court judges are appointed by the president of the republic upon approval by the Senate.

3. Any citizen with a clean record, who is a law school graduate with at least 10 years of legal practice, and eligible for the Senate, may be appointed a Constitutional Court judge.

Article 85

1. A Constitutional Court judge assumes his duties by being sworn in by the president.

2. The text of the oath of a Constitutional Court judge is as follows: "I pledge on my honor and conscience to protect the inviolability of the natural rights of man and the rights of the citizen, to follow the constitutional laws, and make decisions to the best of my knowledge independently and impartially."

3. If a judge refuses to make this pledge, or makes the pledge with an exception, his appointment is considered null and void.

Article 86

1. Constitutional Court judges may not be legally prosecuted without the approval of the Senate. If the Senate refuses to give its approval, any prosecution is ruled out forever.

2. A Constitutional Court judge may only be arrested if he is apprehended as he commits a crime or immediately thereafter. The appropriate body must immediately report the arrest to the chairman of the Senate. If the chairman of the Senate does not agree to the transfer of the detainee to a court within 24 hours, the aforementioned body must release him. The Senate shall give a definitive ruling on the propriety of criminal prosecution at its next meeting.

3. A Constitutional Court judge has the right to refuse testimony on information he has acquired during the execution of his office, even after he ceases to be a Constitutional Court judge.

Article 87

1. The Constitutional Court decides on

a) Abrogation of laws or their specific stipulations if they contradict constitutional law or an international treaty according to Article 10,

b) Abrogation of other legal regulations or their specific provisions if they contradict constitutional law, or an international treaty according to Article 10,

c) Constitutional complaints by bodies of territorial self-administration against illegal intervention by the state,

d) Constitutional complaints against decisions that have the power of law and other interventions by the bodies of public power that violate the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights and freedoms,

e) Amendments to a decision regarding the verification of the election of a deputy or a senator,

f) Doubts regarding election eligibility and conflict of interest in the post of a deputy or a senator in accordance with Article 25,

g) Constitutional complaints by the Senate against the president of the republic in accordance with Article 65, Paragraph (2),

h) Proposal by the president of the republic to quash a Chamber of Deputies and Senate resolutions in accordance with Article 66,

i) Measures necessary to implement a decision by an international court that is binding for the Czech Republic and cannot otherwise be implemented,

j) Whether a decision on the dissolution of a political party or other decision concerning the activity of a political party accords with constitutional or other laws,

k) Disputes regarding the powers of state bodies and territorial self-administration bodies, if they do not fall under the jurisdiction of another body by law.

2. The law may provide that the Supreme Administrative Court rather than the Constitutional Court shall decide on:

a) The abrogation of legal regulations or specific provisions of them if they contradict the law,

b) Disputes concerning the power of state bodies and territorial self-administration bodies if they do not fall under the jurisdiction of another body by law.

Article 88

1. The law defines who is authorized to propose to initiate legal proceedings and other regulations concerning proceedings before the Constitutional Court, and under what circumstances .

2. The Constitutional Court judges are limited in their decision only by constitutional laws and international treaties in accordance with Article 10 and the law specified in Paragraph (1).

Article 89

1. A decision by the Constitutional Court may be executed as soon as it is announced in the manner determined by law, unless the Constitutional Court decides otherwise.

2. The executable decisions by the Constitutional Court are binding for all bodies and persons.

Courts

Article 90

Courts are called upon, first and foremost, to provide protection of rights in a manner determined by law. Only the court may decide on guilt and punishment for criminal offenses.

Article 91

1. The system of courts consists of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Administrative Court, and higher [vrchni], regional, and district courts. A different designation of courts may be specified by law.

2. The sphere of authority and the organization of the courts shall be set out in a law.

Article 92

The Supreme Court is the highest court authority in matters within the jurisdiction of courts with the exception of matters the decision on which appertains to the Constitutional Court or the Supreme Administrative Court.

Article 93

1. A judge is appointed to office by the president of the republic for an unlimited period of time. He assumes office by taking an oath.

2. Any citizen with a clean record who is a law school graduate may be appointed judge. Other prerequisites and procedures shall be set out in a law.

Article 94

1. A law will specify cases in which judges shall decide in a tribunal of judges [senat]; it will also specify the composition of the tribunal. In other cases judges issue rulings as autonomous judges [samosoudci].

2. A law may specify in which matters other citizens, besides judges, may participate in decisionmaking by the courts and what form this participation takes.

Article 95

1. A judge is bound by the law in making a decision; he is authorized to evaluate the compatibility of another legal regulations with the law.

2. If a court comes to the conclusion that the law that is to be used to resolve the matter is inconsistent with a constitutional law, it shall submit the matter to the Constitutional Court.

Article 96

1. All participants in court proceedings have the same rights before the court.

2. Proceedings before the court are oral and public; exceptions shall be set out in a law. The verdict is always pronounced publicly.

Chapter Five: Supreme Control Office

Article 97

1. The Supreme Control Office is an independent body. It performs control over the administration of state property and the fulfillment of the state budget.

2. The president and the vice president of the Supreme Control Office are appointed by the president of the republic at the proposal of the Chamber of Deputies.

3. Its standing, sphere of authority, organizational structure, an other details shall be set out in a separate law.

Chapter Six: Czech National Bank

Article 98

1. The Czech National Bank is the central bank of the state. Its main objective is to ensure the stability of the currency. Interference in its activity is permissible only on the basis of the law.

2. Its standing, sphere of authority, and other details shall be set out in a separate law.

Chapter Seven: Territorial Self-Administration

Article 99

The Czech Republic is divided into communities that are basic self-administrative units. Lands or regions are higher self-administrative units.

Article 100

1. Territorial self-administrative units are territorial communities of citizens who are entitled to exercise self-administration. The law determines under which conditions these units are administrative districts.

2. A community is always a part of a higher territorial self-administrative unit.

3. It is possible to establish or terminate a higher territorial self-administrative unit only by a constitutional law.

Article 101

1. A community is administered independently by a representative body.

2. A higher territorial self-administrative unit is administered independently by a representative body.

3. Territorial administrative units are public and legal corporations that may own property and have their own budget.

4. The state may intervene in the activity of self-administrative units only if the protection of the law so requires and only in a manner provided by the law.

Article 102

1. Members of the representative bodies are elected by secret ballot in universal, equal, and direct suffrage.

2. The election term of the representative body is four years. The law determines when and under what conditions new elections to representative bodies are held before the term has elapsed.

Article 103

The representative body of the higher territorial unit decides its own name.

Article 104

1. The sphere of activity of representative bodies may be defined by law only.

2. The representative body of a community decides in self-administrative matters, if the law does not provide that they are within the jurisdiction of a higher territorial self-administrative body.

3. Representative organs may issue, within their jurisdiction, generally binding decrees.

Article 105

The execution of state administration may be passed to the self-administrative bodies only if the law provides for it.

Chapter Eight: Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 106

1. On the day this constitution enters into effect, the Czech National Council will become the Chamber of Deputies, whose term will end on 6 June 1996.

2. Until the Senate is elected in accordance with this Constitution, the function of the Senate will be performed by the Temporary Senate. The Temporary Senate will be established in a manner determined by the constitutional law. Until this law becomes effective, the Chamber of Deputies will perform the function of the Senate.

3. The Chamber of Deputies may not be dissolved, as long as it preforms the function of the Senate in accordance with Paragraph (2).

4. Until the law on the rules of procedure in the chambers is passed, the individual chambers will proceed in accordance with the rules of procedure of the Czech National Council.

Article 107

1. The law on elections to the Senate will determine the manner in which, in the first elections, the one third of the senators whose term will be a two-year term and the one third whose term will be a four-year term will be designated.

2. The president will convene the meeting of the Senate so that it can begin on the 30th day after the elections at the latest. Should the president fail to do so, the Senate will meet on the 30th day after the elections.

Article 108

The government of the Czech Republic appointed after the elections in 1992 and performing its duties on the day this Constitution becomes valid will be considered to be a government appointed according to this Constitution.

Article 109

Until the state representative body is established, its function will be performed by the prosecutor general of the Czech Republic.

Article 110

Until 31 December 1993, military courts are part of the judicial system.

Article 111

Judges of all the courts of the Czech Republic performing their functions on the day this constitution goes into effect are considered to by judges appointed according to the Constitution of the Czech Republic.

Article 112

1. The constitutional order of the Czech Republic consists of this Constitution, the Charter on Basic Human Rights and Freedoms, constitutional laws adopted in accordance with this Constitution, constitutional laws of the National Council of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the Czech National Council law dealing with the borders of the Czech Republic, and constitutional laws of the Czech National Council adopted after 6 June 1992.

2. The current Constitution, the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, constitutional laws that altered and amended it, and the constitutional laws of the Czech National Council No. 67/1990 on the state symbols of the Czech Republic are rescinded.

3. Other constitutional laws valid on the territory of the Czech Republic on the day this Constitution becomes effective, have the force of law.

Article 113

This Constitution goes into effect on 1 January 1993.

Laws Approved To Speed Up Land Privatization

AU2412132692 Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 20 (CTK)—The Czech National Council (parliament) today approved a bill on penalties to be imposed on legal and physical persons failing to return property to former owners.

The draft was supported by 90 deputies, 65 voted against it and 19 deputies abstained from voting.

The bill, aimed at speeding up the handling of applications for the restitution of the land expropriated during the forced collectivization of farming under the communist regime in the 1950's, was initiated by the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) at the beginning of November. Some 200,000 such applications are being currently handled in the Czech Republic.

The parliament also approved a proposal submitted by Ivan Becvar of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), extending by one year the current deadline for submitting restitution claims (it was to expire December 31, 1992).

The parliament's 15th session ended with the approval of the Law on Penalties. The 16th session is to start tonight.

Final Results of First Privatization Wave Released

AU2812134092 Prague CTK in English 0309 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 22 (CTK)— The first wave of the coupon privatization in Czechoslovakia is over and by February 28 all participants must receive an official notification on the enterprises' shares they have obtained, the Czech National Property Fund official Milan Krcmar said at a press conference today.

Furthermore, by May 31 at the latest, individual investors will be asked to pick up in person their certificates of stock ownership at coupon privatization centers, Krcmar added.

The coupon privatization is a process to denationalize state property by giving every adult Czechoslovak citizen an opportunity to become a stockholder at a nominal and affordable cost. Approximately 8.5 million persons have participated. For a 1,000 crown (35 USD [U.S. dollars]) investment they could have acquired available company stock estimated per capita at 30,000 to 40,000 crowns (about 1,000 to 1,350 USD).

Since some enterprises were more attractive than others five stock selection rounds were staged in order to redistribute the demand. Still there were 1,196 companies which did not sell out, but 291 did.

That is not a serious problem since only about 7.2 percent of stock is outstanding and that means that 92.8 percent was sold. The leftover stock will be held in the meantime by the republics' Funds of National Property for later disposal.

There were some drop-outs who found the procedures too complex and could not comprehend them fully. They did not resort to joining about 450 investment privatization funds as about half of the entrants have. Others procrastinated or were too busy to tackle the paperwork. Their combined percentage is slightly above one percent and they will not be financially reimbursed.

Deputy Federal Finance Minister Vladimir Rudlovcak said at the press conference that barring transfer of (coupon) stock from one republic to the other would be counterproductive for Czech Republic or Slovakia. He saw the amount crossover as not that disproportionate and said that the matter was subject to more negotiations between the two republics.

The fifth and last round officially began on November 23 and the results were announced today. During the concluding round stock of the most attractive enterprises

was in play. These enterprises' offer surpassed demand in prior rounds and interested coupon-holders could not have been properly satisfied. They were asked to make another selection with an option of reordering the desired stock at least partially.

Rudlovcak said that 83 percent of available investment points were successfully placed in the fifth round but investment funds with a 93 percent success rate did better than individual investors with a 75 percent rate.

Since February, in all five rounds of the first coupon privatization, 278,000 million shares have been sold out of 299,000 million available.

Today, the Czech daily TELEGRAF quotes the Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus who is also the architect of Czechoslovak economic reforms as recently saying: "...One of the greatest experiments of our history proceeded in an absolutely smooth and effective way and the privatization fulfilled its purpose."

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 23 December on page 6 carries a 1,000-word Petr Simunek, Tomas Marek report on the results of the first privatization wave. The report includes the following passage on Slovak investors' ownership of Czech companies and vice versa: "Slovak holders of investment coupons and investment privatization funds acquired 11.1 percent of the sold shares of companies based in the Czech Republic with a book value of approximately 22 billion korunas. Czech investors, on the other hand, should own 7.9 percent of the sold shares of Slovak companies, which, in financial terms, represents property worth only 6.3 billion korunas. The difference is thus enormous—15.7 billion korunas, given the nominal value of 1,000 korunas per share. What is more, the value of the shares of Czech companies was somewhat higher (these shares were more expensive on average) than the value of the shares of Slovak companies. It can therefore be assumed that, on average, the market price of Czech companies' shares will exceed the market price of Slovak companies' shares. The real difference is therefore still higher than those 15.7 billion korunas. In view of the division of the state, this accounts for a somewhat delicate situation—property situated on the territory of the Czech Republic is actually being donated to citizens of another state."]

Coupon Privatization To End in Slovakia

LD2712203192 Prague CTK in English 1754 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today confirmed that while coupon privatisation would not continue in Slovakia, the Czech Republic will go ahead with its second wave.

The privatisation process through coupons began in November 1991 and since then Czechoslovak citizens have been able to order shares of privatised companies in five rounds. The last fifth round closed on December 22.

Meciar and Klaus were speaking to journalists when meeting for a private luncheon at Bratislava's Hotel Borik.

Meciar called coupon privatisation an action which is finishing and will not be repeated in Slovakia. He said the Slovak Government considers standard forms of privatisation to be more advantageous, in speed, in financial resources—it is simply a matter of the concept of our government, he added.

Klaus said coupon privatisation was conceived as a unique method of transferring property from no one's hands to those of specific persons. He added that state property remaining without a concrete owner after the second wave of coupon privatisation will be privatised also by standard methods. According to both premiers the parliaments of the two republics will discuss the division of coupon privatisation.

After the luncheon Klaus said both sides are prepared to sign an additional agreement on dividing federal property, which would follow up the federal parliament law on the division of property and would settle contentious questions.

The premiers said none of the sides has yet decided who would be ambassador to the other country, but Klaus said the post of Czech ambassador to Slovakia will be of greater importance than that of a Czech Government minister.

Klaus said his first state visit next year, probably in the first week of January, will be to Slovakia, and that a Slovak parliamentary delegation will visit the Czech Republic.

Parliamentarians Insist on Validity of Mandates

AU2812135092 Prague CTK in English 2330 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 22 (CTK)— The mandates of the Federal Assembly (FS) deputies will not end with the end of Czechoslovakia on December 31, 1992, but only with new elections, the FS Presidium thinks, Josef Mecl (Left Bloc) told journalists today.

He said that the mandates cannot be abolished by a constitutional law passed by the Czech and Slovak successor republics' parliaments. But he accepted that the federal legislators will not exercise their mandates because they have nowhere to do so.

Neither the Czech nor the Slovak parliaments have so far taken any decision to transfer the federal legislators to republic parliaments.

Mecl also said that the legislators' immunity cannot be challenged until the next elections.

The Federal Assembly Presidium today adopted a resolution calling on the chairmen of the FS, its two houses, and the Federal Government to ask the two successor states' governments to preserve the remaining rights stemming from the deputy's mandate until June 30, 1993.

Mecl said this mainly includes free-of-charge travel and diplomatic passports. The Presidium took this decision on the basis of the constitutional law approved at the FS's last session, which ended December 17. Under it, federal legislators will get a contribution to their activity worth six-times their pay. The money will be paid to the legislators only if the federal legislators are not transferred to a respective republic parliament.

Federal Premier Jan Strasky announced that the federal parliament's movable property will be divided between the Czech and Slovak Republics in the 2:1 ratio. The parliament building will be administered by the Czech Finance Ministry for the time being, he added.

In a letter to the Presidium, Strasky said the autumn session of the federal parliament ended December 21.

Dlouhy Comments on Free Trade Zone

AU2412192992 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Dec 92 pp 1, 30

[CTK report: "A Treaty On Free Trade Zone signed in Krakow"]

[Text] Krakow—The Czech and Slovak Republic, Hungary, and Poland concluded a treaty yesterday concerning a free trade zone in Krakow. The treaty will take effect on 1 March. According to this document, the last obstacles to trade should fall in 2001, but due to a proposal by the Czech Government, the four countries obliged themselves in a joint declaration to start discussions on shortening the transitional period to five years.

At a joint news conference, Ministers Dlouhy, Cernak, Kadar, and Arendarski described the first multilateral treaty in Central Europe as the ability of the four countries to cooperate, step by step, toward full integration within the EC. They also expect that the establishment of a Central European market with 65 million consumers will attract foreign investors.

Dlouhy stressed that EC membership is the most important thing for the Czech Government. "We must not see this treaty as an establishment of a new bloc, but as a tool for joining the pan-European integration process as soon as possible," he said.

He described the demand by the Czech Government to hasten the removal of trade barriers as a signal to the EC. "Our countries must prove, not only verbally, but by their actions that they will respect the principles of free trade. It also is an answer to unclear conclusions of the Edinburgh Summit, and surviving elements of unnecessary protectionism in the policies of many European countries. In our opinion, the greatest support to stabilization and economic growth in the region is to open West European markets," V. Dlouhy said.

He refused to interpret the treaty as a step toward political integration of the Visegrad group. The Czech Government's priority is economic cooperation aimed at full integration within the EC. The Czech Government reserves the right to interpret the treaty as an economic treaty, and time will tell what routes will political integration take, not only in Europe but in the region," said Dlouhy in reaction to the Polish minister's opinion who said that "there is no pure economy" and that "the selection of the partners testifies to identical political goals."

In a news conference, the Czech minister said that had decided not to sign the treaty if the final declaration did not contain a reference to shortening the liberalization period to five years. "Originally, Poland and Hungary, Hungary above all, rejected any time period, but without a specific number the treaty would become foggy and unclear. The Czech Republic can really be ready to become a full-fledged member of the EC within about two years. If we were to liberalize trade in our region for eight years, it would not be appropriate, from the viewpoint of joining the EC," Dlouhy said. He expects positive impact from the treaty on Czech trade as early as 1 March, but he declined to give any specific estimates.

Czechs, Slovaks To Share Gas Pipeline Operation

AU2812135792 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 2 (CTK)—The Czech and the Slovak Republics will found two gas companies, each of which will contribute 50 percent to a subsidiary which will be in charge of relations with the foreign partner, Russia.

This is the result of today's talks at Zidlochovice, south Moravia, on the division of the Transit gas pipeline which brings gas from the former Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia.

The division of the pipeline has been necessitated by the forthcoming split of Czechoslovakia into two independent states as of January 1, 1992.

The formula was chosen by Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and Slovak Economy Minister Ludovit Cernak out of three variants.

The two others variants were either the creation of a transnational company or the total division of the Transit gas pipeline into two independent companies.

Foreign Minister Views Talks on Yugoslav Issue

AU2812182192 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Csilla Medgyesi; place and date not given: "Increasing International Agreement"]

[Excerpts] The goal of the Hungarian proposals made at international forums is to help find the possibility of strengthening Hungary's security and integrating the country in international organizations. This is what Jeszenszky told MAGYAR HIRLAP upon his return from his talks in New York and Washington where, as a member of the delegation of the Central European Initiative, he had directed the attention of the leaders of the United Nations and the United States to the serious nature of the Bosnian situation, which endangers the region. It was his impression that the important decisionmakers present also agreed that a solution was urgently needed.

[Medgyesi] Some people think that, after receiving approval, your proposal made at the North Atlantic Cooperation Council to offer Hungarian territory for the training and stationing of CSCE peacekeeping troops was shelved. What is your opinion on this view?

[Jeszenszky] Hungarian proposals made at international forums have only one goal, namely to seek to strengthen Hungary's security, to obtain security guarantees, and to help Hungary's integration into international organizations. [passage omitted]

[Medgyesi] How was the proposal received?

[Jeszenszky] It is not up to me to judge that. The seemingly laconic reply of NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner that he considers the initiative very interesting, shows that he is mainly a diplomat. The Brussels session was a stage and Woerner's words were not the last words uttered on this issue.

[Medgyesi] According to this, the Central and East European countries support the proposal. Did you have prior or subsequent consultations and did you discuss what actual measures you desire?

[Jeszenszky] Unfortunately, this proposal is still very far from being implemented and this is one of the reasons I do not find it justifiable for the Hungarian press to pay so much attention to it—although, naturally, I do expect a certain amount of attention. [passage omitted]

[Medgyesi] In the middle of December, when the session of the CSCE Council of Ministers, the Geneva conference on Yugoslavia, and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council consultations had not yet taken place, you said that it was difficult to imagine that so many important international forums would not take actual steps to solve the south Slav crisis. Are you disappointed?

[Jeszenszky] I did not find the Geneva meeting disappointing because I had expected radical steps. Apart from some contributions, it was the approach to the crisis that I found disappointing. However, in Brussels and the United States, I saw that very important decisionmakers held views on the situation similar to ours. They also think that a solution should urgently be found, and peace should be achieved without many casualties, and mainly without continuing the suffering of those affected. I see greater international agreement on this issue than one week ago.

[Medgyesi] Is there any hope that we will not have to wait until 20 January, the day the presidents change, before a serious U.S. decision is made?

[Jeszenszky] It is difficult to answer this. It depends what kind of step you mean. We do not have to wait until inauguration to observe the ban on flights in the Bosnian airspace because this decision depends on the Security Council. The foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative who visited Washington and New York saw that the old and new U.S. leaderships are cooperating on this issue, too.

Defense Minister Views Army's Budget

AU2812133592 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Dec 92 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Andras Kereszty and Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "Fur: Impatient Behavior Is Alien to Me"]

[Excerpts] In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Defense Minister Lajos Fur, managing chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], stated that the current military budget is only enough to "maintain the level" of the Army. In connection with the skinhead phenomenon, he said among other things that a military officer's career is not meant for extremists. Talking about "big politics", he expressed his concern that those engaged in politics create a kind of shell around themselves through their language and style, which may alienate people from politics. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us turn to another subject, namely the military budget. In a previous interview, you said that it is impossible to assume responsibility for this ministry below a certain financial level. The current 60-odd billion is rather a low level. At the same time, the prime minister said the other day that the Army should be maintained and developed. How can these two things be reconciled?

[Fur] From this budget, they cannot be. This is only enough for the mere existence, or, as we usually put it, to maintain our ability to function. This budget is enough to maintain the barracks and to preserve the current living standard of the officers and the professional staff. Out of the 64.5 billion, we can only spend 1.5 billion on purchasing spare parts. However, fate seems to have intervened because, as it happens, a number of possibilities arose at the time the

budget was being discussed. These are, for example, to spend the Soviet debt on weapons and on replacement of equipment, the spare parts arriving from Germany, which also can be a considerable amount and, finally, there are certain possibilities in other Western countries, too. This way, we can get hold of new technology, which can be a great help.

[NEPSZABADSAG] To mention the latter, are you talking about transport equipment?

[Fur] For the time being, we are only talking about American transport equipment. However, I hope that once the door is opened just a crack, it can be opened wide later. These are only my hopes, nothing more.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Lajos Horvath, member of the MDF and of the Parliamentary Defense Committee, talking about the current state of the Army, recently said that "in addition to the modestly-sized land-based forces, we need a strong strike-aircraft capability, with well-trained and strong commando forces capable of conducting sabotage operations behind enemy lines." Do you agree with this?

[Fur] We do have some differences of opinion, and I do not by any means agree with this. This is his idea, this is what he represents. To a certain extent, he is familiar with defense issues because he is a member of the parliamentary committee. His views could represent one kind of defense concept, or, to use a technical term, I could say a military concept. The military leadership has a different view. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us return to an issue already mentioned, namely that, all of a sudden, we have the chance to purchase weapon spares from a number of sources. How far have the talks progressed with the Russians and the Germans?

[Fur] They have only just started. With the Russians, they have begun and are at the very initial stage. Talks are also being held with the Germans. In both cases, the talks will extend into 1993. We do not yet have an agenda that would set out deadlines for the agreements.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Until then, will you continue to put together one tank from three others? Will there be any money for military exercises?

[Fur] Well, we do have some very worn-out equipment, for example the T-5's. It is quite an achievement that we managed to hold as many as three military exercises in 1992, and this is not a common practice in the former socialist countries. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do you feel that the MDF, the government, or you personally have made any mistakes in the past two years?

[Fur] We have all spoiled something although, in my view, not disastrously. I emphasize all of us. I mean ourselves, the other parties, the press, television, radio, the government, and parliament—we are all responsible. Political life has spoiled many things. We have a kind of political life here that can only be understood by people who actually take part in it every day. This is and was understood by politicians, journalists, ministers, and state secretaries. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do we have a new system of symbols in politics?

[Fur]) No. Everyone openly expresses his views, because we have a multiparty system where many kinds of views can exist. However, these many kinds of views create an external shell around the inner world of politics, and therefore people cannot very well understand their own political elite. This is the reason for turning away from public life and this is, in my view, shown by all the by-elections. [passage omitted] In my view, it would not be good at all if a gap were again created between the upper politics, or I could say, elite politics, and the country's population. It is the task of ministers, parliamentary deputies, politicians, and journalists to open new channels of communication. [passage omitted]

Ministry Plans T-72 Tank Sale to Pakistan

AU2912122592 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Dec.—A director in the Polish Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations said Monday [28 December] Poland was vitally interested in closing a contract on the sale of tanks to Pakistan. Jan Straus added that Poland would seek different terms of the contract from those outlined by the Pakistani press recently. According to Pakistani newspapers, Poland would supply 320 T-72 tanks for a total of $450 million, 10 percent of which would be paid in cash, and the remainder in barter. Straus said Poland wanted the cash payment to be bigger. Meanwhile, a spokeswoman for the Ministry of Industry and Trade said Monday the price for the tanks was still to be negotiated and the sum of $450 million was probably the Pakistani opening proposal.

Visegrad Group Outlines Tariff Reduction Agreement

AU2912113992 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Dec 92 p 14

[Report by 'aga': "Tariff-Free Lists, Customs Quotas"]

[Text] For the time being, the there is only one copy, bound in calfskin, of the agreement creating a free trade zone between the Visegrad group of countries. The text is in English and the final page bears the seals of the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary.

The agreement consists of a text that is the same for all the countries, lists of goods which were the subject of bilateral negotiations, and a declaration of intent, which was signed on Monday [20 December] by the four ministers of economics and foreign trade. The declaration contained a section stating that the period of time over which the four countries will abolish tariffs shall not exceed five years.

Yesterday, Jerzy Rutkowski of the Ministry of Foreign Trade briefed journalists on the lists of goods.

The Czech lands and Slovakia, which have formed a customs union, are treated as one economic zone and that is why there are three lists: a Polish-Hungarian list, a Polish-Czechoslovak list, and Czechoslovak-Hungarian list.

All industrial goods have been placed in three groups for which reduced customs tariffs will be introduced over different periods of time.

List A

The first list primarily consists of raw materials and semi-finished goods (25 percent of all the goods) for which customs tariffs will be abolished on 1 March 1993.

They include:

Goods exported by Polish firms to Hungary: circular sawing machines; milling machines; radar equipment; grinders; mixers; office furniture; and 180,000 tonnes of coal exported by a Polish-Hungarian company; and spare parts for our automobiles worth $5,000,000;

Goods that we export to Czechoslovakia such as: cooking salt; benzol; nitrites; nitrogenous fertilizers; glass products;

Goods imported from Czechoslovakia: kaolin; bentonite (a chemical substance used in the processing of agricultural produce); ethylene; ethylbenzene; formic acid; cellulose; aluminum foil;

Goods imported from Hungary: asbestos; manganese ore; nickel; pharmaceutical products not produced in Poland; potassic fertilizers; natural rubber; silk; boilers; turbines; refrigerators.

List B

Primarily applies to finished goods and those not covered by lists A and C. It includes lighting equipment, medical equipment, ceramic products, rail cars, locomotives, and coal—that is, 75 percent of the total goods. Tariffs that apply to these goods will begin to be reduced in 1995 and will have completely disappeared by 1997.

List C

This group consists of so-called sensitive goods that will be protected the longest, until 2000. The drawing up of this list was greatly influenced by Polish firms that wanted to protect the goods that they produce. Tariffs on goods in group C will begin to be abolished in 1993, but markedly more slowly than those that apply to goods in group B.

The list includes:

Polish goods exported to Hungary and Czechoslovakia such as tires for trucks, certain leather goods, some timber products, wire, halogen lamps;

Goods imported from Hungary such as cotton products, color televisions, automobiles, and tractors;

Goods imported from Czechoslovakia such as automobiles, tractors, leather goods and clothing.

Agricultural Produce

The Visegrad states want to protect their agriculture, so agricultural produce has been excluded from the general mechanisms for reducing tariffs. In addition, quotas have been introduced for agricultural produce.

Tariffs will only be reduced within the framework of these quotas either by 10 percent for each of two years, or by 10 percent per annum over a five-year period. So, tariffs will be reduced by 20 percent or by 50 percent and will not reach a zero rate.

In addition, the states have reserved themselves the right to introduce measures to protect their own agricultural markets. These might, for example, include withdrawing export licenses.

Lower tariffs will, above all, apply to meat, vegetables, dairy produce, and liquor, but only those that are not produced in a given country.

Vacaroiu Receives Moldovan Delegation

AU2412124792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1035 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/12/1992—Wednesday, 23 December, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu received at the Victoria Palace a delegation of the Republic of Moldova headed by Andrei Cheptene, minister for economic foreign relations, Tudor Slanina, minister of trade and natural resources and Gheorghe Huioara, head of the State Department for Customs Control.

During the talks various aspects regarding goods exchanges during 1993 were approached, in the attempt to integrate the two states' economies.

Also approached were aspects regarding the improvement of the traffic of goods and persons on both sides of the Prut. The visit outlined the importance given by the Romanian Government in growing relations on various fields with the Republic of Moldova.

After the call on Romania's prime minister, the minister of foreign economic relations of the Republic of Moldova made a brief statement for the press: "We are now at the end of a fruitful year as regards the links between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Some balance sheets were drawn, all positive issues were analyzed and the problems encountered were solved. We had some consultations related to the evaluation of the events which could influence our economic relations, taking into consideration also the bilateral contracts among the states of ex-Soviet Union, to the creation of a legal framework on which economic and trade relations should be set. It had been a partnership meeting, a meeting between friends who had worked together for one year and who are drawing now the guidelines for furthering collaboration."

Chebeleu Discusses Current Situation With Hungary

AU2812184892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/12/1992—The Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister, Traian Chebeleu, explains in an interview with daily CURIERUL NATIONAL why the wish "to open a real political dialogue between Bucharest and Budapest" has not been fruitful so far. "No political meetings have taken place between Romania and Hungary, but for a speedy visit by the Hungarian foreign minister. Representatives of the two countries have met in third countries. Romanian Foreign Minister, Teodor Melescanu, made proposals in Stockholm [at the CSCE meeting] intended to diffuse tensions, and the Hungarian party showed openness, but gave the standard answer, namely that concrete results are necessary. That is what we want in fact, but we are afraid of a vicious circle created by declining to have talks because no concrete results have been reached, results that are impossible in the absence of talks."

As for the friendship treaty between the two countries, Mr. Chebeleu said that "negotiations have not been blocked, but interrupted. After preliminary discussions, a first round of talks was held in Bucharest at the beginning of 1992, when the two parties agreed on most of the text. Two kinds of issues have been left in suspension, in fact, they have not been approached at all, those referring to the observance of the territorial integrity—to the absence of territorial claims of the two sides from each other—and those on national minority rights.

"We have the impression here that the idea is at work in European circles that Transylvania would be a zone with an unclear status, a zone with problems, where the Hungarian minority would be oppressed," mentioned the Romanian deputy foreign minister. If this would be the case, an international arbitration might be asked for, "legal in terms of international law," especially as the Helsinki Final Act allows for frontiers to be modified by agreement or peaceful means. "That is why we insist on a clear, unequivocal clause, saying that Romania and Hungary have no territorial claims from each other," specified Mr. Chebeleu.

Government General Secretary Explains Tasks, Goals

AU2712152092 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 21 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Viorel Hrebenciuc, government general secretary, by Corina Cretu; place and date not given: "'A Change for the Better' Is Valid for the Executive, Too"]

[Text] [Cretu] Mr. Hrebenciuc, it is said that in your new position you may be able to bring about great changes in the government apparatus. Would you please define the actual tasks of the government general secretary?

[Hrebenciuc] The answer is very simple: My tasks are those stipulated by law.

[Cretu] Could you be more concrete?

[Hrebenciuc] First, the general secretary concerns himself with the preparation of government meetings—beginning with the agenda and up to drafting all necessary materials. This does not mean a strictly technical preparation; we are not a mere conveyer belt. We prepare the materials that are to be discussed by the government meeting from a legal point of view and subject wise. We also prepare the decisions of the prime minister. Since the Local Public Administration Department has passed under the jurisdiction of the General Secretariat, we also deal with what is called the modernization of local administration. One of the priorities we bear in mind refers to the revision of the draft law on the status of the civil servant. A department will also be created within the General Secretariat to pursue how government decisions are being observed and applied. You know that this was the main problem about which the two former prime ministers complained; Mr. Roman

was especially obsessed by it. There was no one, however, in charge of this task—namely, seeing how government decisions are implemented.

[Cretu] To what extent are you thus able to bring about a change in the government apparatus?

[Hrebenciuc] We have not proposed to change, but just to reorganize certain sectors. For instance, the former department for sociopolitical structures and the one on reform have been included into the Council for Reform headed by Mr. Misu Negritoiu.

[Cretu] At one point, definite news was spread that the government was "invaded" by members of the group "A Future for Romania."

[Hrebenciuc] This is not true. Those in question had been here, they were seen in the hall—hence the news that they had been hired. But there was no such thing....

[Cretu] It was also said that your appointment to this position was not well received by the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] and that there was dissatisfaction.

[Hrebenciuc] I cannot see why. My relations with the FDSN are very positive as are my relations with other parties.

[Cretu] Nonetheless, do you not believe that your appointment here is a loss for the presidency, bearing in mind that as chief of Mr. Iliescu's election campaign you were able to win the sympathy of all—especially the press?

[Hrebenciuc] I could not say that it is a loss. Generally speaking, there was too much ado about my merits in the election campaign. I am embarrassed, especially since it is not to my benefit, but to my detriment.

[Cretu] Am I to understand that you are going to apply the slogan "Change for the better?"

[Hrebenciuc] Surely, particularly since it is not a slogan, but a fact.

[Cretu] What is the original contribution you are going to make compared with your predecessor?

[Hrebenciuc] As I have already told you, I will concretely check on how all government decisions are applied—and these are not just mere words. There was, for instance, the case of blocked medicines in Copenhagen because the customs office requested a declaration stating that they were not harmful on the basis of a decision adopted following the toxic waste scandal. We unblocked that situation through another decision canceling the former one regarding the medicines. It is nonsensical when considering that those medicines had been granted free of charge on the basis of a loan. Such cases when one decision is blocked because of another one are quite frequent. The thing is to be able to deal with them, to have a sort of control point for the special problems that arise in the national economy.

[Cretu] Since prefect offices are under your jurisdiction, can you tell us whether some of the prefects will be replaced?

[Hrebenciuc] Yes, some of them. Since it is a FDSN government, it is normal that prefects should possibly come from that party. Anyhow, the criterion of competence will not be ignored.

[Cretu] What about the prefects of Harghita and Covasna...?

[Hrebenciuc] Let us discuss that later on. This is one of the millstones left by the Stolojan government.

[Cretu] What about others?

[Hrebenciuc] We will discuss that another time....

Politicians Discuss Forecasts for 1993

AU2412174092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1648 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/12/1992—Here are the opinions of a number of Romanian political leaders, on Romania's general situation in 1993, expressed at the request of the ROMPRES agency:

Ion Diaconescu, first deputy chairman of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party: Considering our difficult economic condition, social convulsions are to be expected in 1993. I think political events are possible calling for a change of government. As a new team cannot be formed starting from the present structure of Parliament, premature elections will probably appear as necessary. I think Romania's present political situation asks for changes than can be achieved through elections, that might be held late in spring, in May for instance, following a major crisis at the end of this winter.

Stelian Tanase, deputy chairman of the Civic Alliance Party: I think that we shall enter a spiralling hyperinflation soon. To my mind, the national currency has already been submitted to high pressures, as it has been maintained at an artificial rate, and the pressuring will get explosive at the end of January. I consider that the government is attempting a freeze, it is attempting to regain control of the economy, that tensions will amount this way, leading to a series of crises, the first of which should be expected for May, I reckon. The government may fall then, or it may be reshuffled. In May, no later than May. No premature elections will be held, as the important political parties do not want them.

Adrian Severin, deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front: In my opinion, the transition will maintain its course towards a reform in 1993, with the whole economic and social life of Romania heading towards a market economy and towards the consolidation of democratic institutions. But the reform will be slower in 1993, I think, therefore it will maintain its course, but at a slower pace. If early elections should be expected, it's difficult to say. I don't think so, as nobody is interested in premature elections. I do

not think that Romania will become politically more stable in 1993, but neither less stable.

Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Salvation Front: The Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) is not at all scared by possible evolutions, in a sense or another, in the coming period. I think everybody can notice this huge effort FDSN made and continues to make by governing at this moment. What was made and what is being made, what has been tried at the level of every power body proves a firm pledge for the reform and concern for the problems of the society. What can happen? Either to cross the present obstacles and be faced by some others while continuing to govern along the present strategic lines, which the government intends to delineate more clearly, or another governmental formula, which can be easier for FDSN, or early elections, which, I think, FDSN will win, even at a better score than the previous ones. To my mind we'll have the same government in 1993, Vacaroiu's government I mean, with some possible reshufflings. A change of government is unlikely but reshufflings, maybe. I think 1993 will bring in more political stability than 1992.

Horia Rusu, who chairs the National Liberal Party-Young Wing: FDSN will split this spring. President Iliescu will no longer be supported by the forces that have supported him so far. To my mind no premature polls will be held in 1993, be it because of the old age of a number of deputies and senators from all parties, unwilling to step down, as it is not likely for them to be re-elected. I think that 1993 will be less stable from a political point of view, for economic reasons as well as in consequence of political seisms. A political crisis will be generated by the fact that the political parties have not developed naturally, party members have not been attracted by an outlook, by an idea, but by various, conjectural interests. I think we have a political stability, the idea of a political instability is maintained, in my opinion, by political trends interested in anarchy, in order to fulfill wishes they could not fulfill in the polls. Premature elections in 1993? No. The Romanian people is fully aware that such elections can only favour instability. I think 1993 will be a better year for us than 1992.

Civic Alliance Leader Explains Role of Alliance

AU2812131492 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 23 Dec 92 p 1

[Interview with Gabriel Andreescu, president of Civic Alliance, by Cristian Dutescu; place and date not give: "The Civic Alliance and Legal Pressure"]

[Text] [Dutescu] How do you view the future of the Civic Alliance?

[Andreescu] The Alliance cannot stand still. It will either develop rapidly and positively or it will collapse. I hope that a number of well-designed projects will permit the Civic Alliance to be what it was intended to be from the very beginning, namely the representative of the civilian society.

[Dutescu] Are you thinking of a greater orientation toward politics?

[Andreescu] No, on the contrary. The Alliance played an important political role during the election campaign, but it should also represent something else. It has to support the civilian society and develop especially within the current context, which is lamentable.

[Dutescu] Does this mean efforts at the cultural level?

[Andreescu] Not solely. What does cultural level actually mean? It means one of the numerous facets of society. I think it is very important at this point to exert legal pressure. This means legal activity outside Parliament, pressure through the media, and it means action within parliament and so forth. I do not believe that parliamentarians are able to do justice to this duty, to quote an example. The Alliance alone cannot achieve it either, but it has to act as a stimulant and binding factor.

[Dutescu] Are you going to continue the Alliance's classical methods of manifestation such as street demonstrations and large-scale meetings?

[Andreescu] No, I never think of such things. Street demonstrations happen when circumstances so require. I think that it is not the Alliance's most important concern nor is it its second-most-important concern.

[Dutescu] Thus, when you referred to actions outside Parliament, did you mean action by the intellectuals appropriate for the current period?

[Andreescu] Absolutely. And I want to repeat that I am not only thinking of actions within the Alliance, but of combining them with the media and lawyers' organizations. The Alliance has to act as a catalyst.

Banyai Views 'Inner Struggle' Within UDMR

AU2512195692 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 22 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Peter Banyai, member of the Cluj County Committee of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Virgil Lazar; place and date not given: "The Struggle Between Radicals and Moderates"]

[Text] [Lazar] What can you tell us about the trends within the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]?

[Banyai] The mass media often talks about radicals and moderates. This may be a simplification, but there is a grain of truth to it, too. That is, there is a strong struggle between various "wings" within the UDMR. One of the

most important events that marked the inner struggle within the UDMR was the appeal to open dialogue published in the majority of Hungarian newspapers in Romania. It is an open letter initially signed by 13 personalities, to which scores of other signatures were added: Zsofia Bella, Eva Cs. Gyimesi, Peter Kovacs Ekstein, Laszlo Fey, Sandor Fodor, Erzsebet Kantor, and so forth; of course, I immediately added my name to it, too. The initiators and signatories of this public letter are liberals—some of them are even members of the Liberal Circle—Christian-Democrats, or people affiliated with no platform, like former Deputy Laszlo Podhresky, for instance. Therefore, we are not talking about a new ideological platform here, but rather a very strong expression of dissatisfaction with the current national leadership of the UDMR, or better said, with a certain part of that leadership.

[Lazar] Should I infer that this is an attitude against the radical wing within the UDMR?

[Banyai] Of course. It is directed against the so-called radical wing, which is accused of authoritarian methods and lack of knowledge of reality in general, lack of contact with the common Hungarians and the UDMR rank and file, and, at any rate, a total lack of dialogue with the Hungarian intellectuals. As a matter of fact, part of the initiators of this letter, such as Sandor N. Szilagyi, Eva Cs. Gyimesi, Laszlo Fey, and others are people who wrote various studies and articles and often criticized the—how shall I put it—"very high" ideological and political level of the current UDMR leadership without ever receiving an answer to their observations and criticism. This is all the more absurd as, in certain cases, we are dealing here with people who played a very great role in the dissident movement and who, together with Geza Szocs, printed an illegal magazine during the dictatorship. They were not even told: "You are wrong." It is an obvious sign of total disregard for the Hungarian intellectuals that do not belong to the UDMR's bureaucratic structures.

[Lazar] What is the content of this letter-appeal?

[Banyai] Basically, it is a call to halt the phenomenon of power monopolization—likely to happen after the UDMR congress scheduled for 15 January 1993—by this group which imposed the Cluj Declaration about "community autonomy." (When they say "autonomy," they obviously call for decentralization and a certain autonomy. In principle, the problem is not false; what was wrong was the way in which they presented and clarified the issue as well as the moment chosen.)

[Lazar] Therefore, the group that launched the letter-appeal wants a greater adjustment of the UDMR's policy to the immediate realities in the country?

[Banyai] Definitely. Only that the UDMR presidium received this letter as an offensive and abhorrent attack. This was the "echo" the letter had among the leadership at the top. However, one should add to this letter an challenging article signed by Cluj Municipality Counselor Peter Kovacs Ekstein, who openly accuses three members of the leadership—Laszlo Tokes, Geza Szocs, and Iozsef Csapo—for the fact that, by exclusively laying emphasis on the national offense aspect in the dispute around Matei Corvin's statue, they made cooperation with the Romanian opposition more difficult. On the list of delegates for the January congress, Peter Kovacs Ekstein obtained 279 votes from the 300 Cluj electors, thus putting himself in first place. The aforementioned article has made him extremely popular. Laszlo Fey, who never held a position in the UDMR, but became popular thanks to articles calling for reason and constant cooperation with the Romanians in all circumstances and resolutely opposing the radical concept, placed himself ahead of Geza Szocs on the lists, which is a significant thing in itself. The elections for the UDMR Cluj County Committee proceeded in the same way, with the supporters of the moderate trend gaining the upper hand, despite the fact that some of them were less known as political figures. I could cite the example of Petrudean Miclos, a reputed engineer from Cluj, who—being a presidium member and having supported the idea that the declaration on the autonomy should be issued before the presidential elections—was chastised by the electors who no longer elected him to the county's political leadership. That was a very clear political vote. Laszlo Fey said that "we are all in the same boat." Then, a journalist answered back, ironically: "Yes, but the Romanians travel first class and the Hungarians second class." Nevertheless, the ship is being steered toward a precipice. Then, what is the priority of the moment? "To struggle for the place in a ship that is sailing toward a precipice? Or to remove the helmsman and, thus, save the both the ship and the crew. Only then should one think of the place one deserves." However, the Messrs. radicals do not seem interested in the course taken by the ship.

[Lazar] Did the UDMR not trust the Romanian opposition?

[Banyai] It did not trust it and, why not admit it, quite justifiably so, on occasion. The UDMR has maintained a formal cooperation with the opposition, which led to a situation whereby we became increasingly isolated, without any way out of it on the horizon. We were afraid that, at the next congress, people who are prepared to really fight and actively cooperate with the opposition for the sake of democracy, and not just for national issues, will have no chance of being elected to the leading bodies. Now, there are chances for reasonable people to join the leadership.

[Lazar] Why has the point "UDMR Activity" been removed from discussions?

[Banyai] To everybody's surprise, Geza Szocs asked for this point to be removed and we agreed to it, although we all knew that the respective point actually implied an attack against [UDMR President] Geza Domokos. Why was the point eliminated? In my opinion, there are two

possibilities: Either they reached an agreement with Mr. Geza Domokos, who will retire anyway; or, the radicals simply felt that they are not as strong anymore and were afraid to have their collaborators compromised. Mr. Domokos might have been accused of the fact that he organized the party too slowly and that he displayed trends of excessive authoritarianism and centralism. The worrisome thing is that, during the discussion, Bishop Laszlo Tokes demanded that Ekstein should appear before the party's ethics commission. However, Ekstein explained that that was not a matter of ethics, but rather of political option—namely, the extent to which the party lays emphasis on the national aspect or the democracy aspect. As far as I am concerned, Bishop Tokes is morally immaculate and totally open to dialogue. He has suffered a lot after 1989 and is the target of unjustified attacks from the Romanian press.

[Lazar] Then, how do you explain certain statements and attitudes that are not always well received by the Romanians, and rightly so?

[Banyai] Bishop Tokes has become a very sensitive man. His time is divided between politics and the Church. Therefore, his time is rather limited and, to gain information, he has to resort to counselors, many of whom deliberately misinform him about the policy in Romania. I would say that Tokes is not a radical, but that he is driven toward radicalism by those who feed him the wrong information, people who do not sincerely want close and open cooperation with the Romanian side. Whenever some of us managed to give him some information, he changed his mind. I do not think he is a nationalist; I rather believe the idea of mistrust is being fed to him.

[Lazar] What prospects do you see for the cooperation between the UDMR and Romanian opposition?

[Banyai] First of all, there is no Romanian opposition. The Romanian opposition lacks unity more than ever before. We would like to cooperate with it as closely as possible.

[Lazar] In your opinion, what are the prospects of parties organized on ethnic principles?

[Banyai] Unfortunately, they are absolutely necessary now and here. No party or organization is assuming the task of discussing the problem of minorities in a most serious manner. They confine themselves to talking in a simplistic way about equality and other such slogans, which do not resolve real problems. I do not want to claim that the UDMR solves them, but at least it concerns itself with our specific problems.

Claims of Military Involvement in FRY Rejected

AU2812210292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Interview with Romanian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu by Stefan Naciu in Bucharest on 28 December—recorded]

[Text] [Naciu] Good evening, Mr. Minister.

[Spiroiu] Good evening.

[Naciu] We know that this afternoon you attended a concert at Cotroceni Palace [presidential headquarters], after which you went to the informal meeting with reporters organized by the Government's Press Office at Dacia Club.

[Spiroiu] That is correct.

[Naciu] Meanwhile, we have received two news items, one broadcast by Kossuth Radio in Budapest and the other one disseminated by AGENCE FRANCE PRESS [AFP], the French press agency, both claiming that Romanian Army officers are collaborating with the military in Serbia. That assertion was made during the news conference held by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Geneva.

What are the comments of Romania's minister of national defense concerning that issue?

[Spiroiu] Well, I have also heard that news during our meeting with the press. I want to point out that the assertion made by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman—both the version carried by AFP, claiming that Romanian military personnel is present there, and the version that was broadcast by Kossuth Radio, claiming that those military are army officers—lack any real basis. There are absolutely no Romanian volunteers—let alone Romanian military persons—on the territory of Serbia or on the territory of former or current Yugoslavia.

[Naciu] Is there absolutely no intention to send any military there?

[Spiroiu] Of course, there are no such intentions. Romania's policy not to become involved in that conflict is well known. Romania merely aims to carry out its obligations concerning the embargo imposed on the FRY by the resolution of the UN Security Council.

[Naciu] Mr. Spiroiu, we thank you for your briefing.

Karadzic Proposes UN Accompany All Serb Flights

LD2812171492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic addressed on Monday [28 December] a letter to British Prime Minister John Major proposing that U.N. monitors be on all Serb planes that take off from Bosnia to verify that the flights are not combat missions, REUTERS reported in London.

"We are not engaged in any aerial combat missions, and the flights we are operating are used for humanitarian reasons only," Karadzic said in his letter. "I propose that monitors be allocated to each aircraft, that they have full access to these aircraft," he said and added that access would be unrestricted, on a 24-hour basis, and that no Bosnian Serb plane would take off without a U.N. monitor on board.

Karadzic also expressed the readiness to accept a certain number of new U.N. monitors to be deployed across the whole territory controlled by Bosnian Serbs as a way to quickly secure land corridors.

REUTERS said that a spokesman for Major declined to comment on Karadzic's proposal, saying that the whole issue of the enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina was still under discussion.

Zagreb Radio Updates Sarajevo Battle Reports

LD2812192792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Zeljko Ruzicic reporting for Croatian Radio from Sarajevo:

The people of Sarajevo suffered another day of war in unbearably cold and destroyed apartments, which are still without electricity, heating, and water. The fiercest battles raged today around the Vogosca area, when Chetniks responded to the defenders' advances with a tank and howitzer counterattack. Units of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army successfully replied to this Chetnik counterattack by holding on to previously taken Sarajevo defense lines on the approaches to Vogosca.

The Sedrenik district of Sarajevo was also subjected to attacks today. Chetnik snipers were constantly firing on the Sarajevo city center. There is no information about possible casualties. [passage omitted]

The announced continuation of negotiations on the demilitarization of Sarajevo between high-ranking officers of the HVO and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army on the one hand, and on the other, the aggressor's command, did not materialize today. There is no official information about the cancellation of today's negotiations. [passage omitted]

The press center of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army revealed this evening that after defenders destroyed chetnik positions near Visko, a bloody clash erupted between local chetniks and chetniks from Serbia. The clash spread to the chetnik leadership and assumed such proportions that even the Ozren Hotel in Ilijas was set on fire.

The reason for the clash was a demand by local chetniks to abandon positions in Ilijas, Vogosca, and Ilidza. chetniks from Serbia opposed this. The clash forced columns of women, children, and elderly, and a large number of chetnik deserters, to flee the area and head for Pale.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Shelling

AU2912102892

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 29 December carries in its 15-minute regularly scheduled newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Vogosca, Duska Rakonjac says that "there was no peace on the Vogosca front yesterday. From their positions in Blagovac, Krivoglavci, Poljine and Nahorevsko Brdo, the chetniks used howitzers, tanks, and mortars to pound the free Vogosca territory, particularly Ugorsko. Throughout yesterday, the enemy fired with antiaircraft guns and machine guns from Blagovac and Poljine at Ugorsko, Menjak and Hotonj. The movement of vehicles and the regrouping of enemy forces was registered on the Mrkovici-Poljine-Vogosca route. The night was marked with constant provocations from infantry weapons and mortar explosions. This morning, fire from infantry weapons has intensified along the defense lines."

In his report from Sarajevo, Jovo Jovanovic says: "The aggressor's combat activities at the moment are most intense in the Hrasno Hill area. Early this morning, the chetniks started pounding this part of the city, supporting the shelling with fire from antiaircraft guns, machine guns, infantry weapons, which continues as we report." He says that "enemy artillery is also active on the periphery of Stari Grad, particularly Sedrenik and Vasin Han. The communes of Centar and Novi Grad are quiet."

An unidentified correspondent reports from Maglaj on "sporadic overnight fire along the entire defense line." He says: "The Chetniks fired with infantry weapons, antiaircraft guns and machine guns, and mortars, but fortunately there were no casualties."

Another unidentified correspondent reports from Kladanj that "the aggressor shelled the periphery of the town yesterday. The enemy used all available artillery: tanks, 120-mm mortars, 155-mm howitzers, antiaircraft guns, and machine guns. Long-range artillery was also in action. In the morning, (Slavic) and (Dublje) were pounded from the Chetnik stronghold of (Pelagici). During the day, about thirty 105-mm, 120-mm and 155-mm shells were fired at the town."

Civilians Prevented From Leaving Sarajevo

LD2812154292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Report by Zeljko Ruzicic from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] The news of the day in relatively peaceful Sarajevo is that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali is coming to visit Sarajevo on 31 December. This was announced today in UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] command in Sarajevo along with a number of reports about constant attempts by citizens of Sarajevo to use Sarajevo Airport's runway to escape from the town in which conditions of life have become unbearable.

Last night 442 civilians who were trying to escape from Sarajevo to Hrasnica [district in southwest Sarajevo under Muslim control] under the cover of the night were caught on the airport runway. As UNPROFOR representative Mick Magnuson informed journalists, an average of about 130 civilians tried to escape every night in the past month. According to Mr Magnuson, most of them are family men who want to join their children or spouses who left the town earlier, but a large number of war profiteers, who try to smuggle articles in short supply through the airport runway and thus make money, was noticed. UNPROFOR prevents most of these attempts, protecting the airport for its only purpose—the delivery of humanitarian aid. [passage omitted]

Serbian Command Denies Using Scud Missiles

LD2812203992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1837 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The command of the I Krajina Corps today denied claims that in the battles for Gradacac the Serb side used Scud surface-to-surface missiles.

In a statement issued today, the Comand says that reports about the use of the missiles on the Gradacac battlefront was broadcast by Croatian Radio on several occasions today.

The reports are described as yet another attempt to deceive the world public. It is also noted that on the Gradacac battlefornt, Serb and Muslim forces are so close to each other that there is no need to use long-range Scud missiles.

The command of the I Krajina Corps also denies claims made by Croatian radio yesterday, to the effect that "Banja Luka war criminals" had "arrested and taken into camps 250 Muslim and Croatian women."

According to the I Krajina Corps Command, Croatian radio quoted appeals by "10,000 Muslims and Croats still living in the Banja Luka area."

In its statement the Command says that Croatian Radio did not specify the source of its report, and that "it would be interesting to know the names of some of those 10,000 Muslims and Croats still living in Banja Luka," so that they can confirm the Croatian Radio claims.

Reports of Muslim Troops Amassing Near Drina

LD2812191092 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1837 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 28 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces in the territory of Bratunac, a municipality in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which the Drina river separates from the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, are trying to strengthen their positions near the Drina.

Bosnian Serb military sources in Bosnia-Hercegovina said that this could increase the already present threat to the population on the right bank of the Drina, in Serbia, especially in the village of Vrhpolje which has already been shelled by Moslem units these days.

The regular Croatian Army on Monday [28 December] on several occasions attacked Serb positions using all available arms at the Trebinje front in Hercegovina, southern Bosnia-Hercegovina.

One Serb fighter was wounded in these attacks, the command of the Hercegovina Corps of the Bosnian Serb Army said. Croatian-Moslem forces also opened fire in other parts of Hercegovina—on the Capljina-Stolac and Mostar-Nevesinje fronts, the source said.

Secirbey Discusses Impressions of War, Sarajevo

AU2812164192 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 92 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Muhamed Secirbey, Bosnia-Hercegovina ambassador to the United Nations, by Zeljko Garmaz; place and date not given: "The West Knows: Belgrade is a Black Sediment"]

[Text]—*Opinions differ as regards the efficiency of Bosnia-Hercegovina's diplomatic corps. However, not even the most malicious person could deny the fact that two of the country's representatives in international institutions have traits possessed by only a few of their colleagues. We are talking, of course, about Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs, and Muhamed Secirbey, Bosnia-Hercegovina ambassador to the United Nations. These two have won public acclaim by a series of television appeareances. Their faultless English (with an authentic "prairie" flavor), good looks, glossy image, youth, eloquence, and sophisticated demeanor have become a criterion against which the quality of other diplomats is measured. Unlike Silajdzic, whose biography is more or less well known, Secirbey is still a mystery to the majority of readers. This is not surprising if we take into account that we are talking about a man who left his country even before he formally became a Pioneer [a*

member of a youth organization for children and adolescents in the former Yugoslavia in which membership was compulsory]. He was born in 1956 in Sarajevo and he left Yugoslavia with his parents when he was barely seven years old. For a time he lived in various European and African countries until 1967 when he finally settled in the United States and whose citizenship he acquired in 1973. He studied law in New Orleans and got his Ph.D in 1981. Just a year later, he was awarded an M.A. in business at Columbia University. For a time he worked as an attorney, but soon became an investment banker for a number of leading American companies.

Although he has been living in the United States for 25 years, he still thinks of himself as a Bosnian. Though his knowledge of the Bosnian language (neither Serbian nor Croatian) is far from exemplary, Secirbey stresses how he never lost touch with the traditions and culture of his fatherland. In his parents' home, Serbo-Croatian was the language spoken, all national and religious holidays were celebrated, old traditions were observed, and the culture of the fatherland was never forgotten. However, life abroad has left its mark, so that today, Muhamed Secirbey (Secerbegovic) speaks "Bosnian" on the crutches of English phraseology, which, although amusing, is upsetting to many linguistic purists. In any case, he admits that he "understands a lot more than he is capable of speaking." Jasta [Bosnian for 'of course'], so as not to say—of course.

In spite of his American background, he wants to go back to the "liberated part of the former Yugoslavia," especially to Sarajevo or Dalmatia (Dubrovnik and Makarska in the first place), to which he is bound by pleasant childhood memories. But not only that. "Living abroad, you develop close relations to the people who are not only close to you, but also similar to you, as in the case of the Croats," says Secirbey, explaining his close friendship with many Croatian immigrants in the United States. That is why he is using his diplomatic career to further relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, which he believes are "a two-way street" and which, without mutual cooperation and help, stand no chance.

[Garmaz] Mr. Secirbey, before we start this interview, can you tell me something about your activities as Bosnia-Hercegovina's ambassador to the United Nations thus far. Are you satisfied with the results?

[Secirbey] To tell you the truth, we are quite satisfied with what has been achieved "on paper," but the results are not obvious enough in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Many of the resolutions and UN support do not seem to be having any effect. All these resolutions and support are not being implemented. Therefore, as long as the situation in the country remains as it is, we cannot think of our efforts as being successful.

[Garmaz] What, in your opinion, is the thing that would tip the scales and make the international community see the necessity of military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Secirbey] People have to understand the criminal mentality of Belgrade at work in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This mentality does not understand talk and compromise—it only understands military force. Moreover, this is the only thing that the Belgrade government knows how to use, and not only on other peoples and states, but also in its internal affairs and on its own people.

The world must realize that this kind of attitude toward the tragedy of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia is just a repetition of the collective overlooking of Hitler's activities before World War II.

Thirdly, it is wrong for the world to see the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a religious and ethnic one, instead of an imperialistic hunger on the part of Serbia and Montenegro for new territories. As long as they persist in this inaccurate analysis, they will keep using it as a reason for not intervening in the conflict and engaging their political and military forces against Belgrade.

Fault and Deceit

[Garmaz] The collective overlooking of Hitler's activities prior to World War II did in the end turn into collective action against him. In the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina today, what is the world disagreeing on, if there is disagreement at all?

[Secirbey] It is very hard to say, because there are many problematic things in this situation. The point is that a great number of troops are already deployed in Croatia under the auspices of the United Nations. Therefore, there is a belief that any stricter action against the Serbian troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina would endanger the safety of the blue helmets deployed in Croatian areas under Serbian occupation. Another thing is that many European countries do not seem to be interested in helping Bosnia-Hercegovina to the extent to which it needs to be helped. Third, it seems that they have realized how the direction they took in solving the situation in the former Yugoslavia—Lord Carrington's direction—was not the right one. Now they are finding it hard to admit that they were wrong, and that is why they are dragging their feet when it comes to military intervention.

[Garmaz] How do you explain the emotional ties of many countries to Yugoslavia?

[Secirbey] The policy of the former Yugoslavia was conducted from Belgrade, so that the self-determination policy of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia "surprised" many. In addition to this, Yugoslavia was at the head of many international movements, such as the Nonaligned Movement, out of which it made many friends. However, they are now realizing that this is not the old Yugoslavia, and that this Yugoslavia is actually the blackest sediment of the old one.

[Garmaz] Okay, many nonaligned countries have already recognized Croatia and Slovenia, and even

Bosnia-Hercegovina. But can we talk about the existence of a "Yugoslav lobby" in the United Nations?

[Secirbey] Sure we can talk about the existence of a "Yugoslav lobby" in the United Nations, because, after all, they have been around a long time in international diplomacy, and some are founders of the United Nations. However, I do not think they are a vital factor any more, nor can they make an impression on international diplomacy.

So, where is the problem? In the beginning, when the old Yugoslavia started to fall apart, they were still diplomatically powerful and they were able to force the international community to take the stand that it ultimately took. Although their policy did not work out, the world is still reluctant to take any more substantial action. In addition to this, they do not want to admit that they were taken in by the once powerful Yugoslav diplomacy, which "tricked them into accepting Lord Carrington!"

[Garmaz] You visited Sarajevo a couple of days ago. How did this stay, your first in Bosnia-Hercegovina since the beginning of the war, make you feel?

[Secirbey] Yes, it was not only my first visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina since the war started, but my first visit in several years. You can see from the way I speak that I have not been in Sarajevo for quite some time. The last 25 years I have spent in the United States.

My visit to Sarajevo only confirmed many things which I had heard or seen on television. Most of the things I expected to find, I found. But there was something I did not expect. It was the faith of the people in themselves and the inner strength with which they are resisting a much stronger aggressor. But I am afraid that even that cannot last without constant food and technical supplies for defense.

No matter how much the people try to look decent, clean and tidy, I was nevertheless able to notice, in the endless queues for bread or biscuits, how hunger and want were rapidly increasing. It is a great tragedy that the world is letting a people willing to help themselves die like a helpless slaves.

Despite the fact that I was well informed on events in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Sarajevo, this visit has been a great help.

In addition to this majestic inner strength, the faces of the people reflect the despair of those left to the mercy of the enemy by the entire world.

Hungry and Proud

[Garmaz] You went to Sarajevo as part of a delegation of the UN Islamic countries bloc. What were their impressions?

[Secirbey] I did not come back with them because I stayed on for a day in Sarajevo. Although I did not have the chance to see their first impressions, I know what they went through during their stay. They were impressed by our pride, our dignity, and our will to fight for liberation, and they have promised us their full support.

[Garmaz] To what extent can the Islamic countries, who have been of late the only ones expressing the need for military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina, influence the international public to take this direction? Can their increasingly forceful diplomatic activity soon produce some results?

[Secirbey] I do not think that the Islamic bloc is powerful enough on its own to accomplish this. It is still the United States, Great Britain, and France that are controlling the situation. It is more important to stress that we are not primarily requesting military intervention. We are hoping for limited intervention involving only aircraft. What is more important to us is the lifting of the weapons embargo so that we can buy weapons and defend ourselves. You know yourself that we were totally unprepared for war. Before recognition, we did everything diplomatically in accord with the world's requests. The world was responsible for defending us after the recognition and the beginning of the aggression, but no help came. They did not even make it possible for us to defend ourselves. That is a great injustice.

[Garmaz] After the latest UN resolution concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina, you seemed somewhat resigned. You even said that this was a step backward from the earlier resolution.

[Secirbey] We know that sanctions will not help our people. Since the time of the first decision imposing sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro in May this year, it is quite certain that our people have suffered a lot more than those upon whom the sanctions were placed. It is also common knowledge that the militaristic, aggressive Belgrade regime does not care in the least about its own people. Therefore, the harder the time the Serbian and Montenegrin people have under the sanctions, the more our people will suffer. This means that Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot have peace and liberty through international diplomatic activity and sanctions. We know that we are dealing with a thieving gang, with a regime that does not care about its own people. Therefore, the only thing that can help us is concrete international action.

[Garmaz] You keep mentioning "our people." Who do you mean by that?

[Secirbey] You can be 100 percent sure that by "our people" I mean the Bosnian people, which is Croatian, Muslim, Serbian, Jewish, Albanian, etc. In Bosnia-Hercegovina's mission in the United Nations there are a lot of Croats, some Serbs and Albanians, as well as Muslims. I am very proud of this and I am sure that the truth about "our people"—the Bosnian people, which incorporates all the peoples living in Bosnia-Hercegovina, lives in all our other missions to other countries, as well as in our government, Presidency, etc.

The McKenzie Case

[Garmaz] How is the cooperation between Bosnia-Hercegovina's mission to the United Nations and the UN Croatian delegation? You frequently appear together.

[Secirbey] Honestly, the cooperation is very good. Although some minor problems between our countries were made public, I believe that our interests are the same and that our relations will remain friendly in the future. The relationship between our missions is very good. We have often taken the same attitude when resolutions were passed. After all, we are very good friends in addition to being "business partners." If relations between our countries were as good as those between our missions, then there would be no problems.

[Garmaz] What do you think about the possibility of permanent deployment of UN Protection Forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Secirbey] We already have UN Protection Forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, although with an incomplete mandate. I would not comment on the efficiency of the UN Protection Forces in Croatia because that is Zagreb's job. As far as Bosnia-Hercegovina is concerned, after losing 200,000 casualties and with 70 percent of our territory occupied, we do not want the UN Protection Forces to come and sanction the existing situation. That would constitute world solidarity with the Belgrade regime.

[Garmaz] How would you comment on the "McKenzie case"?

[Secirbey] General McKenzie [former UN Protection Force commander in Bosnia] already disgraced himself by returning to Canada earlier than planned. He had the chance to become a Canadian idol. I do not believe that the Canadians are very happy with his performance, either. He came here like an actor and ended up where actors usually end up—on the back pages of the gutter press.

Prime Minister Discusses New Government

AU2812145092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Interview with Mile Akmadzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by reporters Drago Perin, Momir Vidovic, and Ranko Mavrak in Sarajevo—live]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, let us first congratulate you on taking on this difficult and honorable duty. One question: Are all the ministers you wanted in the new government?

[Akmadzic] Yes, the government consists of the ministers I wanted under the circumstances and under the assumption that I did not want to change the complete government as I believe that, in its structure and members so far, it has been a good government.

[Reporter] Allow me to ask you what any reporter would call a provocative question. We asked you it during your visit to the International Press Center. Are you as the prime minister going to allow what has been the practice so far—that many ministers are absent for far too long?

[Akmadzic] Absolutely not. I will not allow it. As prime minister, I will try to do my duty according to the regulations, the law, the constitution, not in that order. I hope I will succeed as I have the full support of all the members of the government and all the members of the Presidency.

[Reporter] One gets the impression that some of your ministries have still to be filled in. What is that all about?

[Akmadzic] Only one ministry has not been filled, the one we formed two days ago, the Ministry for Information. That is the only one that has not been filled in yet, but it will be after the necessary consultations. I think that the head of that ministry will be of Croatian nationality.

[Reporter] Before we go into issues that are directly connected with your activities as prime minister, let me ask you just one more question concerning ministries. Ministers are appointed according to an interethnic agreement, which is natural as we are a multiethnic country and that should be the principle. However, the minute someone becomes a minister, a member of our government, he becomes a minister of all the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina. So far, there seem to have been some misunderstandings in the government. How would you comment on that?

[Akmadzic] One small correction. Ministers are not appointed according to an interethnic agreement since it is hard to tell who represents the ethnic communities. In our political circumstances, the ethnic communities are represented by the political parties that won the elections, except the one that has been banned [Serbian Democratic Party]. So all parties represent all ethnic communities. We are striving to have a government of full parity, as the Geneva talks envisage. At the moment it is not so, but we are getting there.

[Reporter] One gets the impression that, two days ago, the opposition reacted very strongly to the current political situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and gave some indications as to how the new government should be constituted. It seems that the structure of the opposition is the same in this government as it was before. Does that mean that the opposition has accepted this government and the changes in the Presidency?

[Akmadzic] The opposition has misinformed the public. It calls itself the united opposition, which would have to mean five political parties that are united, and that is not the case. The public statement was signed by three parties only, so there is no united opposition in that respect. All the government members who are from the opposition parties have distanced themselves from that statement and do not accept it. They are remaining in the

government regardless of which party they belong to. That is what I want from the government, from all its members, from members of the victorious parties, the Croatian Democratic Community, the Party of Democratic Action and all the other political parties. The government is the government.

[Reporter] Can you then say of this government that it is definitely the government of national, or better still, interethnic unity?

[Akmadzic] I would say that this is the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I would not call it anything else.

[Reporter] The next question is very much in that spirit, Mr. Akmadzic. So far there has been much confusion about the division of the activities of the Presidency and the ones of the government. There has been much criticism aimed at the fact that our government so far has inherited some of the inertia of the former executive council as the administrative body. There has been much confusion about the authority of the government and that of the head of state. You used to have a very important function in the Presidency. You were the secretary-general of the supreme state institution. Now you are the prime minister. What do you think needs to be done for Bosnia-Hercegovina to get a government, not an administration, but a government like the ones in all the modern and civilized countries in the world?

[Akmadzic] I now hold an even more important function in the Presidency, as I am now a member. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government will be a government to have authority over everything that the constitution and law envisages. So the government will do its job. We have held a special session of the government, without various assistants, deputies and the rest, and we have discussed all the issues concerning the relations between the presidency and the government. We agreed that everyone should simply do his job, and we sent out the minutes from that session to the Presidency. We also asked that a special session of the Presidency be held to discuss its position.

[Reporter] Please Mr. Prime Minister, tell us briefly what, according to the legal state that we are trying to achieve, is the head of state, the Presidency, and what is the government, the authority in the state?

[Akmadzic] The Presidency is now at the helm of the state, it fulfils the function of the Parliament, the Supreme Command of the Army. The Presidency holds very high authority in its hands. The implementation of such high authority can be based only on collective decisionmaking, and certainly not on the individual. The government will insist on that, that the Presidency and its members adopt decisions based only on collective decisionmaking. The government has the quorum and it will also adopt decisions on the basis of collective decisionmaking, according to the vision of the government as one state body.

[Reporter] It is probably unfair to deny the good intentions of the previous government. However, its effectiveness was very often questioned. When you were offered the mandate to form a new government, you proposed the formation of an inner cabinet. That proposal, as far as we know, was not accepted at the Presidency session. Can you tell us why that was so and whether this will make your job harder?

[Akmadzic] My proposal was accepted at the Presidency session, but I have found a better solution than the previous one that said that the government should consist of an inner cabinet and [word indistinct]. The inner cabinet would consist of the prime minister and six members at most. There would be ministers of the first and second rank. But to avoid that, and still make sure that the government can make decisions at moments of crisis, I proposed to the Presidency that the government should be able to meet on the inner cabinet level at the proposal of the Presidency, the prime minister, or the deputy vice minister. This inner cabinet level would have at least seven members and would be entitled to make all the decisions at government level. So we have excluded the point about which ministers should be in the government, but we have managed to define that the cabinet should have at least seven members and can decide on all issues that the prime minister or deputy prime minister consider necessary. In this way, we can avoid the possibility of the functioning of the government being blocked in moments of crisis.

[Reporter] The situation in the country is as we well know it, in other words, bad. There is war, it is hard, the economic situation, in short, life is very hard. What are the priorities of the new government?

[Akmadzic] The priorities of the government are those as set out in the government's program. The government's program has been greeted with full approval and support by both the government and the Presidency, but also in the part of the parliament that can be convoked, which means by those deputies who can come to the Parliament in Sarajevo if it is convened. There is complete unity in accepting the government's program.

The program says that, in the short term, normal conditions for life have to be secured. We cannot promise normal conditions for life in Sarajevo and other besieged cities, but at least we can have conditions in which we will not be concerned primarily with mere survival. We need enough electricity, enough fuel, enough food, clothes, blankets so that the citizens of Sarajevo and other citizens of the besieged cities of Bosnia-Hercegovina can survive. The government's wider program is already know, we have spoken about it, but the immediate plan includes attempts by the government and state bodies to end this war as soon as possible.

[Reporter] Mr. Akmadzic, the most frequent and general criticism of the previous government was its inefficiency, it slowness. What do you think about that?

[Akmadzic] I can tell you what I thought about the previous government from the perspective of the function that I held at the time. I was the secretary general of the Presidency, I was present at the sessions. I think that in a certain way the government did not react promptly to all that was happening [words indistinct] one of the main reasons to have asked for help at the beginning.

[Reporter] Does that mean that your government's primary aim will be to eliminate that element?

[Akmadzic] In the program we have presented and that has been so widely accepted, the new government will deal with the timing and manner of solving tasks that emerge with this program. [sentence as heard] I hope, and I will call for the responsibility of every minister in that respect; I told the ministers at our joint session yesterday that no one, neither me nor them, has a guaranteed position in the government. There can be changes in the government within a fortnight.

[Reporter] The war is, of course, the first priority in this country. The new minister of defense is Bozo Rajic. There have been some proposals during the consultations surrounding the formation of the new government that the Ministry of Defense should have a somewhat altered role, that it should have a more operational role rather than the administrative one it used to have. It should have wider authority in deciding on vital issues concerning warfare, and the management and command of the armed forces. What is your view about that?

[Akmadzic] Whether we will, I have already said so, that the government will do its job [words indistinct]. The role of the Presidency is also that of supreme commander. However, the defense of the country depends on the reform of the ministry and all the conditions have to be met for the government to take over the defense of the country. The government will try and see that this job is done by a minister who is a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

[Reporter] We are talking about this subject at this difficult time for our country, as it has been attacked by the neighboring Serbia and Montenegro. This is a war waged by Serbia and Montenegro against Bosnia-Hercegovina. Let us talk about why attempts are being made to reduce this fact to an internal problem, to three warring factions. That is a certain political manipulation. Let me ask you directly. [words indistinct] For example, the misunderstanding between the defense forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croatian Defense Council. In that respect, tell us whether there are any misunderstandings. If yes, how serious are they, and have they been presented properly to the public? How wrong is the public?

[Akmadzic] Let me explain to both you and the public. It is not a case of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces on the one hand and the Croatian Defense Council on the other. There are only the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces, which consist of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council. These are two completely equal armies within the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [words indistinct] All that together comprises the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces.

There are no misunderstandings between the Croatian Defense Council, which is totally equal to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army concerning the basic issues of the defense of the country. There is disagreement about some organizational and other issues, but we are close to solving those and forming a joint command. In that respect the Croatian Defense Council has put forward some concrete proposals and they will be greeted here with approval. That will lead to the formation of a joint command.

[Reporter] Does that mean that the clashes on the ground can be considered solved. We have had some bad news from Jablanica recently. How would you comment on that?

[Akmadzic] The clashes on the ground were the result of misunderstandings here, in the leadership of the country and this is where we have to solve them. There are no reasons for clashes on the ground if we over here come to an understanding, as the representatives of the ethnic communities. When we solve our differences here, the clashes on the ground will be solved.

[Reporter] You have dealt very bravely with our questions, which are sometimes even critical. We would like to allow you not to address the media in a critical manner. Do these clashes between the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, and some other armed formations, such things happen even in the most organized armies in the world, we have witnessed such things [question incomplete as heard]. Do you think that our press, radio and television is sometimes not realistic about all this, maybe because of the blockade, the insufficient professionalism and the wish for sensationalism. My colleague Mavrak just mentioned the example of Jablanica, so maybe the media gives it too much importance when it is only a local matter. I would like to hear your view about it.

[Akmadzic] I would not like to say how much importance it is given and by whom. Such issues are very important and have to be treated thus, but I again emphasize the fact that the misunderstandings stem from here, from the leadership. I would also like to say that the media, either under the influence of the things you have just mentioned, or under the influence of the editors and so on, publish not sensationalistic but incorrect items in the press and present incorrect bits of news on television and radio. True, television is not watched so much now, but everyone listens to the radio thanks to, I must say this, to the capacity of the radio and the fact that it can be received at a great distance.

But I can tell you that every correspondent and every public person who says that we have the aggressor and our so-called friends against us—who says that they are

blackmailing us, referring, I suppose, to some Croatian representatives and some officials from the Croatian Defense Council—these are the people working against the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I can assure you of that. I would not like to convince you of that in practice, but I can assure you that this is true now.

[Reporter] There is no doubt that lack of knowledge about the facts leads to misunderstandings, to the confusion of the consumers. I have to ask you, as the prime minister and the man who can do something about it: Are you aware of the extent of the blockade that the media in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina face? You are probably aware of the fact that not one single radio or television reporter—to a smaller degree an OSLOBODJENJE [Bosnian daily] reporter—has managed to leave the city and find out what is really going on out there.

[Akmadzic] I do not know whether that is true but if it is, then it is very discouraging. As prime minister, I will make sure that it is different in the future. But I also have to ask you to make sure that incorrect information is not circulated, that politically bad [words indistinct], that insignificant matters are not sensationalized. The media is under a blockade, we all are. We know the criteria of the United Nations and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. They are very strict about the media. You know that there are one, two reasons one can leave Sarajevo: for humanitarian aid purposes and for peace purposes, which means delegations going for negotiations. In that respect, there is no room for the media but we will try, if need be we will talk about that in Geneva, we will try to enable the correspondents to see the rest of the republic, but of course they also have to return. We have to negotiate that in advance, to have them come back. We have had plenty of cases of people leaving and never coming back. I think that we have had a few reporters who left never to return.

[Reporter] I can tell you, Mr. Prime Minister, that you are right about that. There have been reporter colleagues of ours who left and have not returned. There are all sorts of people everywhere. My colleague Mavrak put it very well. Everywhere, we from the press, television, radio are begging for statements, interviews, information about our friendly neighboring countries, but not a statement, speech, word, document comes from, for example, Croatia or Slovenia, while we can get absolutely nothing at all from Austria. We would like to ask you now to do something so that the Bosnia-Hercegovina media, the press, radio and television, can do the job as successfully as possible.

Anyway, glancing through the documents from Geneva, the proposals, there is some talk there about the nonexistence of Bosnia-Hercegovina radio and television. We know that all the countries in Europe have their own radio and television. Whether there are shares and how it is organized from the point of view of capital is a different matter. Every country has a central institution of radio and television. What do you think?

[Akmadzic] I know that there are countries that [words indistinct] and the radio and television of Bosnia-Hercegovina could be such. [words indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina radio and television exists, and it is the problem of the institution [words indistinct].

[Reporter] So you believe that it should exist?

[Akmadzic] I think it should exist until something else is agreed. If we agree to change it, it will be changed, but the people who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina will decide for themselves whether such television should exist. I would like to answer the other question. How I can help the media to get information from abroad. I can promise you right away that we will appoint a minister of information, who will deal with these matters.

[Reporter] There is a lot of goodwill for solving the political situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina among all those who care about the future of this country. Unfortunately, there are still some misunderstandings about the central authorities in Sarajevo, if we can call it that, and the authorities of Herceg-Bosnia. President Izetbegovic recently spent some time there, and after that he visited President Tudjman. Unfortunately, we are still receiving contradictory statements. We have received the statement by President Izetbegovic that he was convinced that Mate Boban had given up the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, which was followed by a resolute denial by the Croatian Democratic Community. Can you tell us at which level this issue is now, the issue of Herceg-Bosnia?

[Akmadzic] You see, as it is usually said, politics is the art of the possible. That means that Mr. Boban and Mr. Izetbegovic did have talks, they have held talks in Split and Mostar, I think. Mr. Boban has not given up Herceg-Bosnia, nor has Mr. Izetbegovic given up Bosnia-Hercegovina, nor has Mr. Boban ever given up Bosnia-Hercegovina.

There are several things we have to sort out. Bosnia-Hercegovina is a sovereign, independent and internationally recognized country, equal to all other countries in the world, including the United States, the greatest power in the world. But formally, Bosnia-Hercegovina is a state recognized by the Croatian people, recognized by Mr. Boban, recognized by Herceg-Bosnia. It is a different matter that we in Bosnia-Hercegovina have lived and still live in a multiethnic, multicultural, multireligious world, and the way things are going we will probably also live in a multiregional one. Herceg-Bosnia will be one of those regions, or whatever it might be called, but it is most likely to be one or more of the regions in the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, a region or regions in which the Croatian people will probably be in the majority.

However, these are not ethnic regions. We are against the creation of ethnic regions, the creation of regions purely on the ethnic principle, and the Croatian people represented by the Croatian Democratic Community have, from the start of the talks on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina, supported a whole series of criteria on how

to establish the regions. So in March, we proposed nine criteria for the establishment of these regions, and at the Geneva conference now, these regions are supposed to be established on the grounds of five criteria.

Therefore, I repeat, the Croatian Democratic Community is for a sovereign decentralized state, based on the unification of several regions into one state, and that is what Herceg-Bosnia is. That is how Mr. Boban sees it. So he has not given up anything. The fact is that he has so far insisted, and will continue to insist that as far as armed struggle against the aggression goes there should be complete cooperation—I will not say unity but cooperation—to form a joint command, to have joint coordination of all combat activities, which would guarantee better success. And that is not to say that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces are not already achieving successes because they are, both the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council. However, with better coordination, with better cooperation, I am sure that the results would be even better.

[Reporter] We have recently had a chance to hear on Croatian radio that a Croatian Hercegovina community of Herceg-Stjepan has been formed within the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia. The public in Bosnia-Hercegovina as far as I know does not have much information about that. Can you tell us what that is all about? Is that a new way of regional organizing within the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia?

[Akmadzic] Within Herceg-Bosnia, there will only be other units or cells, call them what you like, whatever Herceg-Bosnia decides to call them: communes, districts, areas, settlements, anything. The internal organization of these regions is not of primary importance. I am deliberately using different expressions so as to avoid definitions. This Herceg-Bosnia, I think, is an attempt at some other way of organizing, it is temporary and the Geneva talks will permanently settle the state organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Then we can talk about this internal organizing.

[Reporter] Allow me to ask you one question that has been causing much confusion. You frequently mention Geneva. Our ordinary citizen imagines that his fate is being determined there, that our representatives, under the auspices and with the benefit of the knowledge of the well-meaning European mediators, so to speak, that they are not only recommending things to us but creating our constitution, our laws, etc. It is war. This has never happened to a country before. Is it patronage? Is Geneva only the starting point for the future organization of our country and legal help to us at this time? Are we going to have our definite organization just like every other country through parliamentary means, after the war, after parliamentary elections and everything that happens in various state bodies?

[Akmadzic] You are talking about an issue that is extremely important, but we must not forget that after great wars the negotiations always took place elsewhere. For example, we know that the great powers negotiated in Teheran during the war. We know that the fate of the country [words indistinct]. That is not surprising. Three ethnic communities that, I would say, are equal and state-forming nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croats, the Muslims, and the Serbs, and I mention them in alphabetic order, cannot agree on the future organization among themselves. That is one thing. The other thing is that they are at war with a part of the third nation that lives in Bosnia-Hercegovina and which is collaborating with the aggressor, with Serbia and Montenegro, against the other two nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also against the Serbian people who consider and want Bosnia-Hercegovina to be their country.

Therefore, when there is no accord there, then it is normal that help is sought from a third party, or that help is offered by the third party. That help is urgently needed, and it is without any political indications if it is coming from the United Nations or the EC or any other international forum. It is not coming from one country. Geneva is the extended arm of the London Conference, which was called to discuss the issues concerning the former Yugoslavia, and particularly Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Reporter] When it comes to Geneva, will you allow as the prime minister of our country the various manipulations there using the term three warring factions, three sides fighting? Many people participants there use these terms to manipulate. What does it mean, three warring sides?

[Akmadzic] [words indistinct] The war we are in has three features, I think. The first one is that it is a war of aggression waged by Serbia and Montenegro, that is, the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, against Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is the first feature of this war—aggression. The second feature of this war is an interethnic conflict. As I have said, the Muslims and the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina are defending themselves from that aggression together with a part of the Serbian people who regard Bosnia-Hercegovina as their country. So this war has certain interethnic characteristics.

The third feature is that it is a civil war. We cannot say that it does not have the characteristics of one, as the part of the Serbian people who are committing this act of aggression are fighting against the part of the Serbian people who are on the side of the defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, meaning they are the same people. That is the characteristic of a civil war. Therefore, if we understand war correctly, then we will know [words indistinct] There is no war among three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Sees Bosnia Problems 'Closer' to Solution

LD2812223092 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman returned this evening from Geneva, where he spent two days in talks with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, FRY President Dobrica Cosic, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic. Upon landing at Zagreb airport, President Tudjman held a brief news conference:

[Begin recording] Although no concrete agreement has been reached, I believe that in the course of talks with all participants—this means, above all, the cochairmen of the European, that is, world conference on former Yugoslavia; then in talks with the UN secretary general; then in talks with Russian Foreign Minister Mr. Kozyrev; and in mutual talks with Yugoslav President Cosic [laughs] and Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Izetbegovic—we have clarified many things and we have moved problems closer to solutions.

All in all, we have reached a stage when it is impossible to procrastinate. I believe that the UN secretary general and Mr. Vance and Lord Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] made it clear to both sides, which are conducting operations in Bosnia-Hercegovina even today—that is, to the Serb and Muslim sides—that they have information about who is preparing what operations and that the international community will not allow that anymore, and that they are on the brink of finding a solution if the combatants do not find one themselves.

That was also my proposal, that they put forward a future constitutional and even territorial solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina, which would then be put to all three interested sides in the sense that they must accept it. The world justly fears a military intervention because it believes it could spread the war to the Balkans and further afield.

Everyone has agreed that our demands regarding the implementation of the Vance plan are fully justified, and everyone is in favor of the Vance plan being fully implemented. [end recording]

Daily's Workers Strike Over Editorial Policy

LD2812205592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] SLOBODNA DALMACIJA newspaper will not be published tomorrow. This was decided by a strike committee of the Union of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA journalists and the Independent Union of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Graphic and Printing Workers and Computer Operators.

The paper will not be published as a result of a 24-hour warning strike, which started at 1500 today. The workers are striking against interference by the managing board and the acting director of the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA shareholding company in the editorial policy of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

Federal

Cosic: Chance of Intervention 'Very Realistic'

LD2912003692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2322 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The chance of military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina is very realistic, as is the chance for the internationalization of the war in that former Yugoslav republic, FRY President Dobrica Cosic stated at Belgrade Airport this evening upon his arrival from Geneva.

Along with this very dismal forecast, Cosic said that "the most responsible people who are dealing with the Yugoslav agony and the agony of Bosnia-Hercegovina have done everything to avoid the worst consequences."

Cosic assessed the talks he had in Geneva today with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, the two cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and also with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev as very difficult and responsible. "We had difficult talks on the most serious topics of the present time and of our survival," he said. [passage omitted]

Sanctions Cause 26 Percent Drop in GNP

LD2912111992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 29 (TANJUG)—International sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, introduced on May 30, were the main cause of a 26 percent decrease of the gross national product [GNP] this year, Serbian Bureau of Statistics announced on Tuesday [29 December].

Blocked imports of crude oil, raw materials, and foreign trade lowered the 1992 industrial production by 24 percent, Director of the Serbian Bureau of Statistics Milovan Zivkovic said.

Compared with 1989, the last year of "normal" functioning of Yugoslav economy before the disintegration of Yugoslavia, this year's production is down by 44.7 percent.

In the past six months as many as 94 enterprises had to close down or temporarily stop production because of the lack of materials, the Institute for Market Research has announced. As a result 800,000 employees are on the paid leave. Some 450,000 are paid by the state and the number is expected to reach 600,000 by January 20.

The Serbian government took measures to alleviate adverse effects of the international sanctions, so there have been no major food shortages and there are indications that there will be none in the future either, Serbia's assistant minister for trade and tourism said.

Inflation Becomes Highest in World

AU2812160892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 92

[All figures as heard]

[Text] In comparison with November, retail prices in December rose by 46 percent. We will end this year with inflation of about 20,000 percent. This was stated in the Federal Institute for Statistics. Lidija Marko-Nedic has the details:

We will remember 1992 by inflation of 19,810 percent, the highest inflation since price trends started to be recorded in 1952, and the highest in the world, since we overtook our permanent rival, Bolivia. At a regular news conference organized by the Federal Institute for Statistics, it was stated that in comparison with the previous month, retail price rose by 46.6 percent this month. According to the data for the last 10 years, inflation is 188,000,000 percent. Or, to be more precise, everything became 1,800,000 times more expensive since 1982. The average monthly inflation this year was about 55 percent. The only articles that have not gone up are postage stamps. Rent in student dormitories has even gone down by 1.1 percent.

Although inflation that will be carried forward was not officially calculated, it would be realistic to expect that we will begin 1993 with inflation of 400 percent.

Statistics Bureau Reports Drop in Trade

LD2812154792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's overall exports for 1992 will be worth about 2.5 billion dollars, the Federal Statistics Bureau has said.

The figure is some 46 per cent less than in 1991, in which a considerable drop in comparison with the preceding year was also recorded.

Yugoslavia's overall imports in 1992 reached an estimated 3.9 billion dollars—again one-third less than last year.

Most of the trade took place before the end of July, when most countries began to comply with U.N. sanctions imposed against Yugoslavia.

Since then, most of the exports consisted of grain, fruit, vegetables, non-ferrous metals, clothing, iron and steel, while the bulk of the imports were petroleum, natural gas, raw materials, motor vehicles...

Yugoslavia's biggest partner were the European Community countries, which accounted for some 40 per cent of Yugoslavia's exports, and 38 per cent of its imports.

The U.N. Security Council on May 30 this year imposed harsh economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on account of its alleged involvement in the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Experts Say Economic Crisis To Deepen

LD2412142392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—The economic crisis in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is not yet at its peak, will increase next year, the Belgrade Market Research Institute said in a statement on Thursday [24 December].

Experts forecast that production, demand and expenditure will drastically fall over the next few months and that this will be accompanied by high inflation.

Around 90 percent of the firms covered by the institute's survey in December said that they would raise the prices of their products at the very beginning of next year while 93 percent of the firms expect to survive over the next six months only through price rises.

The survey also shows that 67 percent of the industrial plants did not have enough orders for normal functioning. Around 73 percent of the firms have remained without raw materials and semi-manufactures while around 91 percent of them had interruptions in their production processes.

The fall of the industrial production by one fourth and agricultural production by 26 percent will also affect the standard of living in the country, warned the experts.

Due to last summer's drought, the yield of wheat was 2.1 million tonnes, 48 percent less than last year. Urban areas will be threatened by a shortage of bread caused by insufficient production, shows the survey.

The gross domestic product in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fell 20 percent this year, said the institute.

Economic indicators show a drastic deterioration of the economic situation after the imposition of the international embargo against the Yugoslavia on May 30.

Yugoslavia's GDP, which has been on a decline over the past three years, has fallen 35 percent since 1989.

Migrations Leading to Overcrowded Cities

AU2812123492 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by Toma Milic: "Overpopulation of the Towns"]

[Text] Several days ago, Dr. Rastislav Majstorovic sent a letter to POLITIKA crying out for the protection of the cities, and warning of "underpopulated, lifeless, and prospectless villages like Guca, Zabari, Batocina, Knic, Blace, Raca, Usce, Varvarin...." "The tragic and miserable philosophy of Serbian urbanisation should be instantly terminated," he says.

"Will We All End Up Living in Belgrade?" is the title of Dr. Majstorovic's factual analysis of the mistakes that have been made in the spatial development of Serbia, and many city-planners, demographers, and sociologists we spoke to agree with this, but they add that urban planning was subjected to a day-to-day policy. That is why we have today congested and filthy towns, and desolate, dilapidated villages. According to the last census, Serbian towns are home to 53.3 percent of the total population (and in Montenegro it is even 58.2 percent), considerably more than in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany and other countries. The situation has been getting even worse since refugees from the former Yugoslav republics started coming, as 80 percent of them are living in the towns. Because of overpopulation in Belgrade, as well as in other cities, the situation has become almost chaotic. The traffic is jammed, and the waiting lines in banks and supermarkets are becoming unbearable. Supplies have been made difficult as well.

Hence, the problem of overpopulation has turned out to be above all a political issue, rather than an urban or economic one. The economic policy and the policy of regional development throughout the post-war period has "killed" the countryside. The industrialization and electrification model introduced by Boris Kidric was applied equally to Alpine and Dinaric hamlets as to the quaint little villages in the river basins of the Vlasina, the Morava, and the Timok.

Factories were (and are still being) built in towns or regional centers. They were followed by universities, health-care centers, cultural and scientific institutions. Villages and small towns got saw-mills, water-mills, sometimes a textile factory or a health-care station (and Serbia has 8,000 rural settlements).

When in the 1970's the peasants began their large-scale migration to the towns, owing to difficulties back home finding work, educating their children, and obtaining health care, in Serbia as in all Yugoslavia alike, measures were introduced (too late) to make possible more equal regional development. The towns were already becoming more attractive, but one could discern their separate development. Progress in the communes could not keep up with the concentration of the city-population. After the 1974 SFRY [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia] Constitution had been passed, with its increasing separatism, Serbia was overwhelmed by a new wave of refugees (the third since 1941). In the period between 1971 and 1981, approximately 10,000 to 15,000 people annually migrated to Serbia from Kosovo and other republics. Between 1948 and 1992 around 1.5 million people from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia moved to Serbia.

The mistaken policy of regional development crippled the economy, and produced urban chaos. Family planning measures were not reckoned with, so the natural growth in the population decreased from 300,000 to 170,000 in the last three decades alone. That caused a disappearance of and aging in the rural population, and the collapse of Belgrade, Nis, Pristina, Kragujevac, and other cities. For example, between the censuses of 1971 and 1981, 646,000 new citizens were registered in Belgrade, but fewer than 100,000 apartments were built. Around 80 percent of all Serbian industrial, educational, health-care, cultural, and scientific facilities are to be found today in urban areas.

Such a policy has brought about absurdities. In Serbian towns today, there is a shortage of 60,000 apartments, and at the same time there is a surplus of 40,000 apartments in the countryside, plus about 80,000 uninhabited weekend houses. In the village of Zubin Potok, for instance, the 458 abandoned houses and three elementary schools are an absolute eyesore. Hasty and uncontrolled migration has extinguished the countryside in other regions as well. As a result, every year about 60,000 hectares of land remains uncultivated. Hectares of vineyards and orchards in Pomoravlje and southern Serbia are becoming overrun with weeds. According to the research of Dr.Petar Markovic, a Belgrade University professor, from 1945 to 1983 in Yugoslavia, 5.2 million people left the countryside and moved to the towns.

The poorer communities have obtained, true, a number of industrial facilities over the last few years. In the last two decades alone, 1,700 factories were built, but almost 700,000 people left the countryside in the same period. Dr. Petar Bjelica, head of the Institute for Economics in Belgrade, has warned that over the years "the human element will be a limiting factor in the development of half the communities in Serbia." This appears, unfortunately, to be true: In agriculture, men over the age of 60 in 1981 constituted a quarter of the workforce, and women one half of it. The proportion of people living in the countryside decreased from 72.4 percent in 1948 to 27.6 percent in 1981. The bad thing about this is that it was happening much faster than jobs were being provided in the towns for the flood of unemployed people.

The most difficult situation is in the 40 poorest Serbian communities, where the population decreased by between 10 and 43 percent in the period between the censuses of 1971 and 1981. In some of these only half of the people remained. The circumstances are no better in 59 insufficiently developed communities, where more than 100 factory systems are without work, and many factories are facing closedown, mostly because of a lack of experts.

The government has endorsed several measures that—along with the lifing of the sanctions, hopefully—will halt these undesirable tendencies. First of all, there is the program for the revitalization of the country which is directed toward more investment for primary agricultural production and tourism. If that does not work, the cities will suffer even worse chaos, and some urban services may become completely unviable.

[Box, p 1]

Even without the refugees, Serbia is the largest migratory area of the former and the present Yugoslavia. The surge of migration has affected 59 communities and 40 percent of the total territory of the republic.

The migration is most severely affecting the regions of southern Morava, Kraljevo, Nis, and Novi Pazar. Some parishes, such as Crna Trava, and Trgoviste, have populations of between 6,000 and 10,000. That is a half to a third of the populations obtaining at the end of World War II. In five out of the 375 parishes at the foot of Kopaonik there are today fewer people than in 1946.

The causes: unplanned economic development, an uncontrolled birth rate, the flooding of farmland for dams, the building of industrial facilities on farmland, political pressures (Kosovo), and so forth.

Moscow Radio Says Intervention Becoming Realistic

LD2812133792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 28 (TANJUG)—The threat of a military intervention in Yugoslavia is no longer only a method of pressure on the authorities in Belgrade, but is becoming more realistic, Moscow Radio's commentator Anatoliy Potapov has said in a programme monitored in Belgrade.

The NATO plan of military measures to be taken against Yugoslavia actually supports the plan made at the U.S. Defence Ministry.

"The scenario is practically identical," said the radio. The first step would be to create the so-called no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina and then "arrange for a U.N. Security Council resolution which would allow the use of force against the planes which violate the ban," the radio added.

"Should the Serbs respond to these actions, Serb electric power plants, bridges, long-distance power lines and communications will be bombarded. NATO also plans to use the electronic equipment to paralyse Serb radars and antiaircraft weapons," the radio added.

It said this would not be a surgical operation at all, as NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner has claimed. it quoted military experts as saying that, if a blitz-operation failed, a broader operation would require 70,000-100,000 troops.

"It's not a coincidence that, according to the U.S. weekly NEWSWEEK, the Pentagon has for long opposed a military intervention fearing the "Balkan quagmire," the commentator set out.

He said a military intervention with enormous human losses can hardly be in keeping with the U.N. and CSCE concept of a peacekeeping mission.

Potapov said he doubted the allegations that the West was inclined towards military intervention in Bosnia so as to avert tensions with the Moslem world.

The radio quoted Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic as saying a military intervention would mean the declaration of war which would involve large parts of Europe and the rest of the world.

"It is indeed a strange peacekeeping mission which threatens security in Europe as a whole," the radio added.

It said many countries opposed military intervention and cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and David Owen are trying to bring the warring sides in Bosnia to a negotiating table.

"This proves that the genuine peacemaking diplomacy has not yet exhausted all the possibilities," the radio said.

General Boskovic on Plans To Break Up Serbia

LD2612140992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 26 (TANJUG)—Head of security of the Yugoslav Army, Major-General Nedeljko Boskovic has said that "foreign factors in cooperation with (Yugoslav) extremists at home" are working on the "dismemberment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Serbia in particular," the Belgrade daily BORBA said on Saturday [26 December].

"The main point of hostile activities is to accuse Serbia abroad of military engagement, to open up the question of Serbia's provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo and its region of Sandzak so as to enable an outside military engagement under auspices of the United Nations (U.N.)," BORBA quoted Boskovic as saying at a panel discussion in Pristina, the administrative center of Kosovo.

A secessionist movement of ethnic Albanians has been active for over two decades in Kosovo and its objective is to annex this Serbian province to neighbouring Albania.

As a result of several decades of pressure and terror from the Albanian secessionists, hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of Kosovo so that ethnic Albanians are now the majority population of the province. Albanians are a national minority in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and they do not have the right to secession under [words indistinct] and Yugoslav laws.

There are [word indistinct] towards secession also among the Hungarian [words indistinct] and among minority in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina [words indistinct] Muslims (?mostly) in the region of Sandzak in southwestern Serbia.

Boskovic said that Kosovo, according to the plan drawn up by the foreign powers, is no longer viewed as the center of wide-scale conflict, but "only of terrorist activities."

"Weapons are frequently transferred to Kosovo from Albania and Turkey. Camps in Trpoja and Kuks and elswhere in Albania are used to train terrorists who were previously members of police forces in Serbia or the former Yugoslav People's Army. There are around 20,000 of these terrorists, and there are similar camps in Bulgaria, with 2,500 terrorists, and around Zagreb, where there are around 1,500 of them," Boskovic said.

Boskovic said that Albanian secessionist leaders from Kosovo held a meeting in western Macedonia with representatives of 31 parties of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo and 15 envoys of Albanian President Sali Berisha, where they agreed "to launch frequent terrorist actions in Kosovo starting from the Catholic Christmas."

"The main center (of the conflict) is becoming western Macedonia, because of a weak army and weak authorities and strong enemy forces. From there, the war should spread to Kosovo and Sandzak," BORBA quoted Boskovic as saying.

The Albanian national minority in Macedonia, who account for 21 percent of the population of that former Yugoslav republic, also urge secession.

Boskovic said that the leaders of ethnic Albanians had adopted a decision "on the forming of an Albanian police in Macedonia, which should beome active also in Kosovo as of February 5th next year."

"We have the forces to prevent any attempt to provoke war in the [word indistinct]. Our army will know about all the preparations and react before a large-scale conflict begins," Major-General Boskovic said in closing.

Belgrade Considers Preparations for War, Invasion

LD2412174292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—Belgrade Mayor Slobodanka Gruden and officials of the city's defence committee said on Thursday [24 December] they would adopt decisions which are to secure the functioning of the economy and the protection of civilians in the case of war.

Western countries threaten they will launch a military intervention unless the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs "make a radical change in their policy."

The city must function also in the conditions of war, said head of the defence committee, Colonel Zivojin Zdravkovic, who presented a part of the plan for the case of military intervention against Yugoslavia.

In that case, he added, around 250,000 residents of Belgrade would be mobilized as active troops and some 10,000 for reserves. The rest of the citizens would continue regular work to secure the functioning of life in such conditions, Zdravkovic set out.

He said the committee had a map of installations which could become the targets of bombardment during the intervention.

The civilian defence authorities, which are part of the defence committee, have made a plan of evacuation for around 250,000 people.

The training for civilian defence has so far covered some 60 percent of the population, half of them men.

The committee is in charge of defence of 30 Belgrade municipalities with 2.5 million inhabitants. Apart from Belgrade with 1.6 million residents, within the committee's competence are also Valjevo (200,000) and Sabac (600,000), including the state border with Bosnia-Hercegovina on the Drina River—some 120 km from Belgrade.

Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army, General Zivota Panic, said on Wednesday [23 December] the Yugoslav Army was ready to respond to a possible aggression.

General Panic told the Belgrade Daily BORBA the Yugoslav Army "cannot remain neutral if the biological survival of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina was endangered."

Threats with a military intervention became frequent after the election returns showed that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is convincingly defeating federal Prime Minister Milan Panic in the republic's presidential elections.

Panic's popularity in the country dropped because the West, which views Panic as a peace-oriented man, failed to respond to his appeals for the easing of sanctions.

NATO said it was ready to intervene against Bosnian Serb aircraft in the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina and other parts of the former Yugoslavia if authorized by the UN.

FRY Dissatisfied With IMF Succession Decision

LD2412214892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) said on Thursday [24 December] it was dissatisfied with the decision of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Board of Executive Directors not to determine automatically the former Yugoslavia's (S.F.R.J.) successors in the fund after it was concluded that the country no longer existed.

The Federal Government and the National Bank of Yugoslavia will try to provide the continuity of F.R.Y.'s membership in the IMF, it has been said in the Federal Ministry for Information.

Discussing the IMF's decision of December 14 on the model of membership succession in the fund for the states formed from the former Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Government assessed as acceptable the proposed amount of F.R.Y.'s participation in the assets and liabilities of the former Yugoslavia in the fund.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia will inform the fund that F.R.Y. is ready to meet all the conditions of the Board of Executive Directors' decision within the set period.

The Federal Government said that F.R.Y.'s expulsion from the IMF would be disastrous for it, because it would have no access to the world financial market and the economic stabilization would be postponed for a longer period of time owing to the lack of capital.

Committee Rejects Draft Federal Budget

LD2412172092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Budget Committee of the Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics concluded at a session today that conditions for endorsing a draft federal budget for 1993 have not been met. Therefore, the Federal Government has been asked to prepare a draft on financing federal functions in the first quarter of next year, and for the next Assembly session scheduled for 29 December. [passage omitted]

Counterintelligence Officer Mitrovic Found Dead

93P20062A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 15 Dec 92 p 24

[Text] Belgrade, 15 December—The body of Lieutenant Colonel Radosav Mitrovic, deputy chief of the Yugoslav Army Security Service Counterintelligence Department, was found on Avala mountain near Belgrade recently. He had been missing for 10 days. The department that Lt. Col. Mitrovic worked for is one of the most important departments of the Military Counterintelligence Service.

Serbia

Number of Refugees in Serbia Estimated at 400,000

LD2412102592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0914 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—More than 9,000 people have found refuge in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia over the past ten days, warned the republican Red Cross at a session on Wednesday [23 December]. The total number of refugees in Serbia is estimated at more than 400,000, 300,000 of whom are from the war-battered former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbia has given refuge to Bosnians of all nationalities—Serbs, Moslems and Croats.

Seselj Denies Prospect of Civil War Among Serbs

AU2412180892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Report by Dusan Djordjevic on news conference with Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djordjevic] Expressing his satisfaction with the results of the premature elections for deputies in the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Federal Assemblies, Dr. Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said this about the elections:

[Seselj] We believe that the elections were carried out in a democratic way, according to the constitution and regulations. The elections were conducted under unprecedented pressure, particularly exerted by the Western powers, directly interfering in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Serbia, and the Republic of Montenegro. This is all without precedent in the modern history of the civilized world.

All the Western powers were threatening the Serbian people. The leaders of their regimes demanded that the Serbian people vote for Milan Panic. This is not the way to speak to the Serbian people, not in the language of threats and blackmail, and the Serbian people have shown that very clearly at these elections.

Those parties that enjoyed such direct and open support and financial help, and based their political power on threats by the Western powers, have suffered a fiasco in these elections. The patriotic forces have come out triumphant. The patriots from the ranks of the partisans and the chetniks have emerged triumphant, and that finally marks a symbolic end to the civil war among the Serbs themselves. The SRS is convinced that this (?electoral round) is the best evidence that there is no chance at all of civil war breaking out in Serbia, which is, by the way, the subject of much speculation in the West.

[Djordjevic] The SRS believes that, after the elections, the republican and Federal Assemblies have to convene as soon as possible, and the state bodies have to be formed, Seselj said. The SRS will continue to function according to its own program, and it will support the protection of the rights of Serbian people outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and for their recognition by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As for Milan Panic, Seselj said that he had committed several criminal acts and that he should therefore be prosecuted, particularly for embezzling state property, which the SRS has evidence of, and because he invited foreign powers to get involved in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Answering a question as to whether and with whom the SRS would form a coalition, Seselj said that he was expecting the initiative to be taken by the majority parliamentary party, and that it was ready for talks exclusively with the patriotic forces and parties, but not with those whose policies were created in Washington, Bonn, Vienna, and other centers of world power.

Asked to comment on FRY President Dobrica Cosic's intention to resign if democratic forces did not win the elections, Seselj said that democratic parties did win the elections and that it was up to Cosic whether he would stay or not. The SRS had never questioned Cosic's patriotism.

Sandzak Leader Discusses Possibility of War

AU2812084592 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 92 p 9

[Interview with Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of the Sandzak Muslims, President of the Party for Democratic Action, and the Muslim National Council for Sandzak, by Zoran Saponjic: "There Will Be No War in Sandzak"]

[Text] [Saponjic] You have just come back from Jeddah, where you attended the Conference of Islamic Countries. Is the news good or bad for the Sandzak Muslims?

[Ugljanin] I bring good news for my fellow countrymen. Even the drowsiest part of the world has woken up and has decided to contribute something to the solving of the Yugoslav crisis. The Islamic countries have decided to devise a plan for solving the Balkan problem. As far as we Muslims are concerned, special attention has been paid to preventive measures so as to prevent the aggression on Kosovo and Sandzak, and to bring the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina to an end. The part of the declaration that asks for the UN Protection Forces to be deployed in Sandzak, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Vojvodina as a measure of precaution, is especially important for us in Sandzak. I think that under this kind of pressure, the Serbian authorities will have to change their policy.

[Saponjic] Were there any concrete promises regarding help for the Sandzak Muslims?

[Ugljanin] Everyone concerned said that they would do their best in the United Nations and the Security Council in order to prevent the evil from spreading to this territory as well. They will do this because it is the belief of the

international community, and especially of the Islamic countries, that Milosevic, in an attempt to hold onto power, will attack Sandzak. Serbia and Montenegro are not aware of just how much they have lost now that they have been identified as the aggressors and those to blame for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Now the Muslims in Sandzak can and must be the factor through which the Serbian and the Montenegrin people can assert themselves. We are the ones who can open the doors of the world for them. The Islamic countries, and especially the Islamic bank and their companies, have already offered concrete material help through their funds. They want to open humanitarian organizations through us in Belgrade, in Zagreb, and in Ljubljana. However, Zagreb and Ljubljana are now too far away for us to consider them. They also mentioned Skopje, Podgorica, and Albania.

Destroying the Power of the Federal Army

[Saponjic] We have heard a number of accusations saying that you went to Jeddah to ask for weapons?

[Ugljanin] No. That would be sheer folly. I do not need weapons. Using weapons to solve the Sandzak problem would be total insanity. By doing this, we would actually strengthen the position of the army circles, those military outlaws who have forced the war on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, in order to stay in power. Those that are slaughtering and killing say that they are Serbs and that they are doing this in the best interests of the Serbs, but I say that they are doing it for themselves, in order to be able to go on living the way they have been living up to now. My argument both in London and Geneva was, and still is, that this army is an occupying army for Serbia and Montenegro, and an aggressive one for Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is now impossible to buy weapons against the missiles that are aimed at Novi Pazar from Belgrade and Kragujevac. My policy is quite different. What I want to do is to use international pressure in order to reveal to the world their atrocities, and in this way point out to the world that it must destroy this army and ban its further activities so that the Muslims can save their lives and the Serbs can get rid of this surplus weight.

[Saponjic] How do the Islamic countries see the Army and the Serbian people?

[Ugljanin] Unfortunately, the Islamic world believes that Serbia and Montenegro, the Serbian and the Montenegrin people, are collaborating with the Army and therefore directly responsible for everything that is happening. I am sorry this is so, but on the other hand, I am also sorry that the Serbs are not doing anything to disassociate themselves from this policy. At the Islamic Conference, everyone was unanimous in their belief that the Serbian people had to feel the sanctions, and even a military intervention. For my part, I requested that through an international military action a total demilitarization be undertaken, that all military targets involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina be destroyed. After that, all munitions plants and other military installations should be put under international control, and Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina demilitarized. If this is not done, we are going to ask that the embargo banning arms imports into Bosnia- Hercegovina be lifted.

Turkish Emotions

[Saponjic] Which countries insisted most on a military intervention?

[Ugljanin] All countries were unanimous in their request for a military intervention. However, Iran and Turkey insisted that a military intervention be included in the documents, that a limited time period be set and that everything be worked out in detail, so that everything is ready on the designated day of the intervention, in case the war does not stop.

[Saponjic] Did you support Alija Izetbegovic in his request for an urgent lifting of the embargo on weapons imports in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the arming of the Muslims there?

[Ugljanin] You may find this unbelievable but I had my own attitude. I was going to try and influence Izetbegovic as well, but I did not get the chance to talk to him that first day. He was on the brink of requesting a military intervention. If we speak as one human being to another, what I gathered from his report based on the tragedy of his people was that, if he were not a Muslim, he would have every right to request a military intervention on civilian targets, since so many Muslim tragedies have been documented. However, he only asked that the embargo be lifted. My attitude was that all military targets involved in the war should be destroyed and that Serbia and Montenegro be demilitarized by 15 December. If this is not done by then, I asked for the embargo on the import of weapons to be lifted so that these people have something to defend themselves with. However, I believe that Izetbegovic is right in not believing in the intervention any more, in not believing any more American and European lies. I think he is right in wanting to defend himself on his own.

[Saponjic] In your proposal, did you also have in mind military targets in Yugoslavia?

[Ugljanin] I had all military targets involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina in mind. I had all army installations in mind and I am sure there are some in Serbia and Montenegro as well.

[Saponjic] At the forum held on 1 November in Novi Pazar, you said that Turkey was ready to defend the Sandzak Muslims from the Chetniks. Does the recent decision of the Turkish Parliament have anything to do with what you said then?

[Ugljanin] I am not sure that it has anything to do with that. However, it certainly has something to do with us in

Sandzak. Turkey has close emotional ties to Sandzak, much closer than to Bosnia-Hercegovina or Kosovo. Turkey believes that the Bosnian crisis should be dealt with by the international community, that it is a state problem. However, should Sandzak be attacked, they would regard it as aggression toward the Muslim people whom they consider to be part of their people and whom they will surely defend. However, I pray to God that it does not come to that, not because of them but because of us here.

[Saponjic] Does this mean that in the case of an attack on Sandzak, Turkey would not wait for the decisions of the international community?

[Ugljanin] I do not think it would wait one second. In fact, I am positive of this. A great number of high-ranking Turkish officers were born here and they have emotional ties with Sandzak.

[Saponjic] On 22 November, the Sandzak Party for Democratic Action decided to take part in the elections. However, this decision was revoked at the time of your stay in Jeddah.

[Ugljanin] This decision has nothing to do with my stay in Jeddah. It was on my personal initiative that we applied for the federal elections. In this decision, however, certain requests were stipulated. Since these requests were not fulfilled by 3 December, we revoked the decision.

Peace First and Then Power

[Saponjic] What is your advice to your countrymen and will the Sandzak Muslims go to the polls on 20 December?

[Ugljanin] No. We are going to call on all Sandzak Muslims to boycott the elections. However, there are people among us who say they are Muslims but they are not. Those that are Muslims will not take part in the elections for sure. By participating in the elections and winning in some cities, they would sentence to death the Muslims of Priboj and Pljevlja. We would win the elections here, but we would permanently lose there. There is great danger from extremist national-fascist forces who are planning to establish Serbian municipalities in those places where the Muslims would win the elections.

[Saponjic] Where?

[Ugljanin] In Novi Pazar, Sjenica, a village in the Tutina municipality and in the part of the Rozaj municipality toward Ivangrad. The Army would use this establishing of Serbian municipalities as an excuse to defend the Serbs and incidents would occur. The Muslims will not provide the reason for a war. We are going to fight for peace first and then for power. We are going to wait patiently for the next democratic elections.

[Saponjic] Till when?

[Ugljanin] We are going to wait a couple of months until this multitude comes to its senses and discards the media poisoning and the campaign that is giving publicity to all those who have led the Serbian people into war. And as long as there are those who sympathize with these people, there will be no peace. These national-fascist forces that are destabilizing the Balkans cannot last longer than three months if they do not have support from the side. If the Serbian regime wins these elections and they will for sure, it still cannot last longer than three months.

[Saponjic] In the case of new people coming to power do you expect a new attitude toward Sandzak and the request for a special status?

[Ugljanin] All those who wish to be an integral part of the civilized world and the United Nations will have to fulfill certain criteria. We will wait and this will not do us harm. I hope that things will soon be resolved and that we will get our rights.

[Saponjic] Is there going to be war in Sandzak?

[Ugljanin] The world says that there will be and that there are indications that the aggression is all set. However, as a human being and a believer, I have a feeling there will not be. I have never been wrong so far.

[Box, p 9]

Turkey Will Not Wait

[Saponjic] At this moment, what are the chances of Turkey's independently intervening in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Ugljanin] Turkey is not going to intervene independently in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I believe them. As far as we in Sandzak are concerned, I think they would take action without anybody's approval and without informing the United Nations. That is what they have said.

Minister Says Republic Has Enough Oil for Winter

LD2812181092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Enough oil has been provided for heating and transport in Serbia, it was announced at a news conference today in the republic government.

It is estimated that the latest rise in gasoline prices had a favorable impact on private suppliers and prompted them to start selling fuel at their gasoline stations, so there should be no difficulties with the priority needs, such as transport and heating, Andrija Jovicic, assistant republican minister for trade, said. [passage omitted]

Possible Western Intervention in Bosnia Viewed

AU2712143692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] The gradual disclosure of the truth about everything that is going on in the Balkans is definitely encouraging, but it is still not loud enough to outshout the rumble of guns of the Muslim-Croatian formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to whom military support from the West and the great family of Islamic countries is being promised.

At the request of the increasingly militant and departing U.S. Administration, experts at the Pentagon and NATO have already prepared military plans that envisage nullification of the combat advantage held by the Bosnian Serbs. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, General Colin Powell, chief of staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, and General John Shalikashvili, Jr., commander of NATO troops in Europe, proposed to their superior politicians that the UN Security Council endorse a special resolution authorizing the use of force and punishment for those who violate the ban on combat flights in Bosnia.

The creators of the military intervention obviously overlooked a report by objective foreign observers stating that the Serbian air force has not been carrying out military flights for two months now and that its helicopters have only been carrying wounded and sick, as well as humanitarian aid for hard-to-reach locations.

This is not all. The creators of the military intervention also demanded approval for preventive strikes against the airports from which the Serbian aircraft have been taking off. Along with this, arms for Bosnian Muslims arew also envisaged—although, so far, they have not been lacking in modern arms, which they have been receiving through various channels—to defend themselves more successfully from the alleged Serbian aggression. They also envisage a larger supply of humanitarian aid and the creation of safe havens where the Muslim population can be gathered and protected.

It is interesting that even the UN secretary general recently requested that NATO experts draw up a plan for placing NATO troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina, just in case. According to reports from Brussels, this plan was sent to New York this week, although the allies were not able to agree on modalities or a time for the military engagement on the aforementioned territory. Together with the American offensive variant, France and Great Britain proposed a so-called softer variant that would amount to interception and a possible downing of Serbian aircraft. This is understandable if one bears in mind that their soldiers are participating in a ground peace mission. A higher degree of unanimity was reached regarding the preventive deployment of observers and blue helmets in Kosovo and Macedonia—although, regarding Kosovo, they acknowledged international legal obstacles to such an action.

Naturally, a peace operation and a war operation cannot take place simultaneously. As UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali rightly pointed out, they actually endanger each other. These experts particularly warn of the very unfavorable configuration of the Bosnia-Hercegovina battlefield, climate, and lack of clearly recognizable frontlines, which would inevitably result in great losses among ground troops and civilians.

In such conditions and also because of the acclaimed antiaircraft defense of the Serbian troops, selective strikes or surgical air strikes from nearby military bases and aircraft carriers have obviously been suggested to them many times.

Much hope for a peaceful solution is being placed on the announced intense political and diplomatic activities for the coming week and on the fact that Russia and China are increasingly favoring a more reasonable policy toward the former Yugoslavia. It is not known, however, whether these two countries would again yield to Washington when voting on a possible new UN Security Council resolution that would authorize force. It is certain, however, that any foreign intervention in the already complicated internal ethnic and religious conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be like trying to extinguish a fire by pouring oil on it.

Montenegro

UN Sanctions Cause Collapse in Maritime Economy

LD2812123392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1149 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Podgorica, Dec 28 (TANJUG)—The maritime economy of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro has collapsed due to the U.N. May 30 blockade against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Director of the Kotor-based Jugooceanija Company Nikola Samardzic told TANJUG on Monday [28 December].

Eight transoceanic ships of Jugooceanija and another maritime company Prekookeanska Plovidba of Bar have been blocked in foreign ports for months, Samardzic said.

The aggregate capacity of Jugooceanija and Prekookeanska Plovidba is one million tonnes, but the U.N. sanctions last week forced the two companies to lay off 1,500 workers and the fate of their remaining ships is also uncertain, Samardzic added.

Due to the sanctions, Montenegrin maritime companies have cancelled the purchase of three new ships as the foreign partner refused to accept a 50-million-dollar payment order from the National Bank of Yugoslavia, said Samardzic.

Before the sanctions, Jugooceanija and Prekookeanska Plovidba participated with 25 percent in Montenegro's foreign exchange revenues.

Croatia Denies 'Blue Zone' in Prevlaka Region

LD2612215192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Herceg Novi, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—Croatia categorically denies the existence of a "blue zone" (sea belt) in the region of Prevlaka and Cape Ostra situated on the administrative boundary between this ex-Yugoslav republic and Yugoslavia, that is, Montenegro—TANJUG has been told by a well-informed source in the Montenegrin Adriatic town of Herceg Novi.

Stalling its recognition of a "blue zone", Croatian forces daily patrol in this belt and move in fresh units and heavy weapons.

An announcement issued by the security centre in Herceg Novi and by president of the commission for averting border incidents Radoje Radulovic said that in the past two months, except for minor offences, the situation in the demilitarized zone Prevlaka (which has been under U.N. supervision since October) has been fairly peaceful, with a hot line operating between the Herceg Novi security centre and the police H.Q. [headquarters] in the Croatian Adriatic city of Dubrovnik.

Prevlaka was demilitarized pursuant to an accord between F.R.Y. President Cosic and Croatian President Tudjman in Geneva in September.

Eighty-one ex-detainees from the Moslem camps arrived in the Montenegrin seaport of Zelenika on Saturday from the Croatian port of Ploce, although it had been announced that as many as 1,200 camp detainees would be released. Ex-detainees from the camps at Visoko, Zenica and Konjic in Bosnia said that over 600 predominantly young men were waiting to be exchanged.

In their shocking statements, ex-detainees spoke about the torture to which they had been put, like beating them with rifle butts and baseball bats, spilling petrol and burning them, and piercing their ears and tongues with red-hot needles.

Government Affirms Federal Defense Responsibility

LD2412174592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Podgorica, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—Montenegro accepts all constitutional commitments concerning defense as a function of the federal state, and when federal laws in that sphere are passed it will adjust republic regulations within an envisaged deadline.

The Montenegrin Government adopted this stand at a session today while discussing, as was announced, a report on activities concerning the legal regulation of defense as a function of the federal state.

In order to preserve its security system until the federal regulations are passed, a statement adds, Montenegro will continue carrying out obligations in the sphere of defense in accordance with the current laws, while maintaining its defense ministry.

Djukanovic Denounces Prevention of Deliveries

LD2812173092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Podgorica, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Commenting on the decision of the relevant Serbian ministry to prevent the delivery of goods from federal commodities reserves to Montenegro, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic today said that any move which blocks the functioning of a federal institution is unacceptable. In this connection, Djukanovic stressed at a regular news conference that since the formation of the new federal state, Montenegro had not issued any decree whereby the functioning of any federal body would be put in jeopardy.

Asked if Montenegro had appropriated some federal facilities, Djukanovic said yes. He recalled that more than six months ago the Montenegrin Government appropriated some facilities belonging to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

According to the Montenegrin prime minister, this was done after the Federal Government had transferred the ownership of the Institute for Security of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to the Republic of Serbia, without any compensation. On several occasions the Montenegrin Government warned the Federal Government of its lack of responsibility in passing decisions whereby the property of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was given to Serbia. Since there was no reaction to this, Djukanovic said, the Montenegrin Government adopted the previously mentioned decision in trying to protect its interests in the new state. Djukanovic also mentioned the 13 May hotel in Becici (on the Montenegrin coast) as a facility that Montenegro appropriated on the basis of the decision. [passage omitted]

Ruling Party Satisfied With Election Results

LD2912103292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 29 Dec 92

[Text] Podgorica, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—The early elections in Montenegro were held in a democratic and peaceful atmosphere. At a meeting in the secretariat of the main committee of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] of Montenegro with chairmen of the ruling party's municipal committees, it was assessed that citizens of the republic had an opportunity to express their political convictions freely.

At yesterday's meeting, DPS expressed gratitude to voters who placed their confidence in the party, thus

securing support for a policy based on a commitment to peace and tolerance, preserving Montenegro's dignity, and establishing a federal and democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The convincing advantage of DPS candidates on all election lists and the DPS's candidate for president of the republic was viewed with satisfaction. There was especially support that the election of DPS candidate Momir Bulatovic in the second round will make it possible for the DPS to legitimately and effectively express the will of the majority of Montenegrins to preserve peace and the safety of citizens, and to secure the effective functioning of the state through the policy of reason and the promotion of democracy.

At the meeting it was noted that during the election campaign certain political parties, and particularly groups of citizens called the Association of Combatants 91/92, voiced a number of lies and serious accusations at the expense of the Democratic Party of Socialists its methods of political work. An agreement was reached to inform the public directly about arguments and precise facts which will prove that those claims were false.

Macedonia

Assembly Ratifies Ties With Turkey, Bulgaria

LD2412231292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Skopje, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Assembly this evening adopted the law on the ratification of the protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between Macedonia and Turkey and the law on the ratification of the agreement between Macedonia and Bulgaria on establishing consular relations and opening consulates general in the two countries.

Bulgaria and Turkey were the first two states to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the new Macedonian state.

When Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski was asked whether a written request had been submitted to the United Nations for the admission of the Republic of Macedonia into this world organization, his reply was affirmative. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Police Detain Ethnic Albanians for Arms Smuggling

LD2412172192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Ministry for Internal Affairs (MUP) in Kosovo and Metohija has in the past few days uncovered and cut off several arms supply routes used by the most extreme members of the Albanian secessionist movement. An MUP information official said today that in one of the most successful actions, a supply route was cut off for arms, ammunition, and explosive devices coming from Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia to Prizren, Suva Reka, Kosovska Mitrovica, Pristina, Vucitrn, Glogovce, and Gnjilane, the MUP information service revealed today. These include large quantities of automatic firearms, ammunition, and highly destructive explosive devices for combat operations and terrorist activities. In addition, a drugs route was uncovered and eliminated in the same action.

Security bodies have information that some leaders of the Albanian secessionist movement have significant funds for purchase of arms. In this case, a majority of funds came from Turkey; even the Islamic religious community from Prizren used them to buy arms.

More than 70 people from Prizren, Sremska Mitrovica, and Pristina have been detained so far in connection with this. An additional 38 people were arrested and charged. A search for the remaining perpetrators and their accessories is still underway, the statement says.

The fact that over 3,500 illegal firearms have been confiscated this year clearly indicates the true intentions of Albanian extremists. To ensure full safety of the republic and its citizens, MUP bodies will continue to efficiently carry out their constitutional and legal duties to secure public peace and order and to protect the constitutional system on this part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia, the statement concludes.

Police Continue To Occupy School Buildings

AU2712162692 Tirana ATA in English 1123 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 27 (ATA)—The first semester ended in the schools of Kosovo where classes started in time. In schools where classes were delayed because of the hindrances put up by the Serb police power, winter holidays will start later. This school year the pupils of many elementary schools and almost of all the middle schools held classes in private houses because the Serb power has closed down the schools for the Albanians. In some of them there are settled Serb colonizers too.

New Albanian Opposition Bloc Defies Rugova

AU2812115992 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 92 p 12

[Report by M. Laketic: "Cosja and Demaci Against Rugova"]

[Text] More and more open conflict between Ibrahim Rugova, president of the largest ethnic Albanians' party, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and the extreme right wing led by Adem Demaci and Dr. Redzep Cosja, together with the creation of a new oppositional bloc, have apparently cruised a rift between the Democratic

Alliance of Kosovo on one side, and all other political parties on the other side. The breach between Dr. Rugova, who is the president of the Inter-Parties' Coordinative Board as well, and the originators of the Kosovo secession (Demaci and Cosja) occurred, according to the ethnic Albanians' newspapers "ZERI" (edited by Demaci) and the independent "SKENDIJA", because of "Rugova's passivity toward the people, which is not what he committed himself to in the referendum, and in the spring elections." For "Rugova has not done anything regarding the constitution of the Kosovo assembly," as the previously mentioned newspapers quoted Cosja. Aside from the "disorientation" in establishing the supreme state body, Dr. Rugova "has not done anything to bring the Kosovo government to life, but, in fact, accepted Bujar Bukosi, who has been out of the country quite a long time, to represent the government." Apart from accusing Rugova of having weak "governing and organizational capability," Cosja and a certain Bitici, who appeared no earlier than two months ago as a writer in the newspaper edited by Demaci, alleged that Rugova "taking all appointments of interest for ethnic Albanians, seized the money sent from abroad, and used it for his personal promotion in the world, and for creating the best possible image for himself with our countrymen abroad."

Union Not Until the Catholic Consent

The advocates of this idea have begun to attract in large numbers not only members of Rugova's party, but also above all social democrats, led by Dr. Ljuljeta Beciri, and members of the Association of Former Political Prisoners led by Miljajim Kadrija, as well as Demaci's Board for the Protection of Rights and Human Freedoms.... However, as local analysts say, the forces mentioned were at the margins of the ethnic-Albanian alternative until the Parliamentary party, from which its founder Veton Suroji withdrew, joined them. Suroji's withdrawal into a cooler environment created a maneuverable space to his successor Haljilj Matosi, so he submitted his membership to Cosja and Demaci. The reinforced ethnic-Albanian right wing was joined last week by the poor in size, but rich in influence Democratic-Christian party of ethnic Albanians. Ljazar Krasnici, founder and president of the Democratic-Christians, and better known to the public as one of the initiators of the strike at the "Stari Trg" mine, activated, according to "Zeri," the old "Djakovica connection" that has been strongly influenced by Roman Catholic clergy. This signifies, beside 30 parishes that have been within the jurisdiction of Prizren-Skopje diocese [Prizrensko-Skopska biskupija], the Franciscan monastery in Djakovica, whose guardian has traditionally been a Croat. One can, therefore, very often read in the monthly paper "NASA ZUPA" [Our Parish] edited by the diocese, that the Catholic ethnic Albanians care very much about the opinion of Bar archbishop [Montenegro] and Serbian archbishop, Don Nikola Perkolic, who is an ethnic Albanian.

Rugova Is Silent for the Time Being

With the Democratic-Christians having joined the flock of Dr. Cosja, one could notice right away an advance in "pluralism" on the ethnic-Albanian political stage. That is, on Ljazar Krasnici's initiative, which was discussed last week, the creation of a new oppositional bloc to Dr. Ibrahim Rugova was issued today. At the request of some journalists to explain this, Rugova's public relations officer Dr. Sacir Saciri defined this coming forward of the people who want to thwart Rugova in his plans as "variety on the ethnic-Albanian political stage." This all has to be added to the fact that almost a month ago the Alliance of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo started to come forward with harsh statements that Ibrahim Rugova's talks with the Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic represented turning his back on the "legitimate president" of the so-called Kosovo state. For, as a rule, this trade union alliance has been, at least until now, the most precise in condemning those who are not well-disposed toward their fellow citizens. Rugova keeps silent to all that.

Vojvodina

Socialist Party Fails To Win Majority Vote

LD2312215992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Data from all 120 electoral units arrived in the Vojvodina Electoral Commission within the envisaged time of 2000. The Commission verified 118 records and voting will be repeated in two units on 3 January. Voting in Titel was nullified because of mixed ballot papers, and in Indjija because refugees prevented ctiizens from voting.

The future Vojvodina Parliament will be very mixed. The Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] will not even have a simple majority in the Vojvodina Assembly.

According to the final but unofficial results, the SPS will have 48 seats; the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Magyars [DZVM] 17; the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] 6; DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] 13; the Vojvodina Reform Democratic Party [RDSV] 1; the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] 1; and the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Croats [DSHV] 1.

Citizens' groups will have five seats and the other parliamentary seats will go to the following coalitions: DE-KO [Democratic Coalition] from Zrenjanin, 3; the RDSV-DZVM, 1; the Democratic Party-RDSV-DEPOS, 14; the Democratic Party-DEPOS, 1; RDSV-DEPOS, 1; Democratic Party-RDSV-Social Democratic Party-People's Peasant Party, 1; Desk/Democratic Alliance of Kikinda, 2; and RDSV-Democratic Party-the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina-DEPOS-Golubovi Subotice, 3.

Nationalists Exert Pressure During Elections

LD2312233292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Subotica, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Subotica coalition, which consists of the Democratic Reformist Party of Vojvodina, the Democratic Party, the League of Social-Democrats, and the Subotica Civic Movement announced at a news conference today that they are satisfied with the results of the elections but not with their regularity.

During the voting there were several incidents in which members of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Magyars [DZVM] threatened the Magyars who were candidates for other parties. One DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] candidate had to ask for protection while a coalition candidate was telephoned overnight to be told that "he had been excommunicated from the nation."

Such conduct by the DZVM is extremely unfair and leads to nationalism of which Subotica has so far been spared. If political parties continue with such threats the end result will be a polarization and eventually a conflict.

The coalition in Subotica will contest the second round of voting with 28 candidates. The DEPOS list, or the united civic option at the federal level, received about 40 percent of the votes cast in Subotica.